PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE AND THE PINK SHEET ON THE LEFT: NEW RIGHT ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE 1970S

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PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE AND THE PINK SHEET ON THE LEFT

NEW RIGHT ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE 1970S

Abstract

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During the 1970s a new conservative political force profoundly affected American politics: the traditional anti-communism of the McCarthy era merged with a revitalized fundamentalist religion and free market economic thought to produce what some observers called the "New Right." Among the many manifestations of this new political movement was an anti-communist newsletter, The Pink Sheet on the Left. Phillip Abbott Luce, a former member of the Progressive Labor party, founded the newsletter in 1971. In 1965 he had become disillusioned with leftist politics and had begun to write a number of books to expose communism in American society. Under Luce's direction the Pink Sheet emerged as a particular expression of what historian Richard Hofstadter has called "the Paranoid style in American politics"; it also represented important aspects of the New Right.

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PREFACE

During the 1970s a new conservative political force profoundly affected American politics. Although conservative roots ran deep into the history of the United States, they had found additional nourishment in America during the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War. The Depression had spawned New Deal liberalism and the Democratic party -- a fact that stirred conservative fears of socialism and big government. Even wartime victory and the postwar economic boom made conservatives pause. In the age of McCarthyism, fears grew that communistic subversive forces were destroying the nation. The violence of the 1960s and early 1970s seemed to confirm this. By the 1970s traditional anti-communism began to merge with a revitalized fundamentalist religion -- the "Moral Majority" -- and free market economic thought to produce a political force. To some observers, this new force represented a "new conservatism." Perhaps it was better known as the "New Right."

Among the many manifestations of this new political movement was an anti-communist newsletter, The Pink Sheet on the Left. The newsletter began publication in 1971, and was published bi-weekly on shocking pink paper. It was written almost as a personal note to the readers from its editor, Phillip Abbott Luce, letting them in on privileged information. In four to twelve pages each issue, the journal compiled short articles that focused on individuals, organizations, and government officials who, according to the publication, threatened America. The

newsletter's mission was to expose the efforts of these subversives so that the American public could defeat those trying to destroy the nation. The Pink Sheet was a particular expression of American conservatism in the latter half of the twentieth century. As such, it illuminated notable aspects of the New Right. It also provided yet another illustration of what historian Richard Hofstadter dubbed the "paranoid style" within American history.

The newsletter published an index every six months which listed the individuals and organizations it scrutinized. For this study the index provided a measure of the journal's changing focus over time. Organizations and individuals that were related by activity or association were grouped together by subject headings. Each item was counted whenever it was mentioned in an issue, but not the number of times in was mentioned in that issue. For example, the student activist organization, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), received mention in nine of the first sixteen issues, and in 29 issues between May 1971 and December 1975. The number of issues in which SDS received attention was then divided into the total to create a "mention rating." SDS's mention rating was 24 percent over the first five years. By tracing subjects such as SDS over time it was possible to see patterns, and track the newsletter's direction.

The first chapter of this study provides a historical context for the newsletter, tracing the development of the "paranoid style in American politics," especially its manifestations on the conservative right.

Increasingly, by the twentieth century, this paranoia found expression in a strident form of anti-communism. Chapter two spans the journal's first 119 issues, from May 1971 through the end of 1975. The final chapter studies the 142 issues that were published between the beginning of 1976 through June 1981.

CHAPTER I

Phillip A. Luce, the Pink Sheet, and the Paranoid Style in American History

In May 1971, Phillip Abbott Luce mailed the first issue of his anti-communist newsletter, the Pink Sheet on the New Left. With that first issue Luce tapped into a long tradition of conspiratorial thought in American history. The Pink Sheet was only one of many newsletters, journals, and organizations in the latter half of the twentieth century that was designed to expose a subversive communist threat inside the United States. The notion that a carefully crafted conspiracy was bent on overthrowing the nation had long marked American thought. Indeed, it has dominated American history enough that Richard Hofstadter identified it as the "paranoid style in American politics." By the middle of the twentieth century its most pervasive form of expression was anti-communism. From such historical roots Phillip Abbott Luce's Pink Sheet grew.

The paranoid style has typically empowered the enemy (who historically has appeared in numerous guises) with a cunning ability to control the mind of the public through the press, the entertainment industry, and education system. The struggle with this virtually omnipotent enemy has been apocalyptic in nature, demanding total victory. From this perspective, the give-and-take of democratic process could in itself appear susceptible to corruption from external and internal threats. One, after all, could not compromise with the devil.[1]

Fears of conspiracy helped give birth to the United States. Colonial Americans feared that King George of England, and Parliament, had designed policies to subvert their freedom of commerce and government. Colonists viewed parliamentary acts as a plot to deny them their liberties as English subjects.[2] Not only did the Revolution provide a basis for conspiracy theories, but President George Washington, in his farewell address, suggested that the United States avoid alliances with the old world.

In doing so, he articulated a view that had sustained several generations of American colonists: their newly forged society was special -- something set apart from the old world. In fact, many colonists had sought to escape the oppressive monarchical rule of England and the Continent. The Puritans, who endeavored to build a "city upon a hill" as a model for the world, had feared that the Roman Catholic church had designs upon the colonies. During the Great Awakening in the 1740s, itinerant ministers had warned the colonists that Catholicism was a grave threat to America.[3]

Because of America's mixed cultural heritage, defining a national identity has been difficult. Hofstadter pointed out that "our ethnic mixture has...made the achievement of a full American identity a recurrent difficulty...." Each new wave of immigrants immediately became second-class citizens. Their loyalty was questioned. If they abandoned their country of origin to come to America, then their allegiance to any nation must be suspect. The constant rivalry between social groups, and

the lack of a true, or model, American identity, led to the notion that America was especially susceptible to the seduction and infiltration of destructive, un-American ideas.[4] As each new wave of immigrants came ashore, older groups of Americans responded negatively to the perceived displacement of power and status, which resulted from the influx of new members into society. Since status displacement has been a continual process in the United States, Americans have often created conspiracy theories to explain their vulnerability.[5]

Because Americans have lacked a clear identity, and have witnessed the constant influx of immigrants, many nativistic movements have developed. Trying to protect their communities, citizens have blamed outsiders, immigrants, or some far-off, unseen "evil" force for their problems. A conspiracy was destroying "their" America.[6]

During the first century of American history many groups reflected some aspects of the paranoid style, and helped to lay the groundwork for anti-communist fears in the twentieth century. After the American Revolution, for example, a Boston Congregationalist minister, Jedidiah Morse, adopted a European conspiracy theory regarding a secret Masonic society, the Illuminati. Morse stated -- in much the same manner that Senator Joseph McCarthy would 150 years later -- "I have now in my possession complete and indubitable proof that such societies do exist.... I have...an official, authenticated list of names,...whose professed design is to subvert and overturn our holy religion and our free and excellent government...."[7]

By the 1820s and 1830s an anti-Masonic movement took hold; it was one of the first nativistic movements that had mass appeal. Anti-Masons were religiously orthodox, and were opposed to an outside "anti-Christian" force in the country that had seemingly influenced the government. The anti-Masonic movement gained such strength that, by 1831 in New York, it elected six state senators and seventeen assemblymen. In Vermont and Pennsylvania anti-Masonic governors were elected, and in Massachusetts 150 members of the state house were anti-Masonic. Eventually the anti-Masonic party blended with what became the Whig party, thus bringing anti-Masonry to an end as a independent movement.[8]

In the 1840s a similar party materialized: the Know-Nothing party. It grew in response to the flood of Irish immigrants between 1846 and 1854. These newly arrived immigrants overwhelmed American cities. The 1850 census revealed that nearly 50 percent of the destitute in the nation were foreigners, but they amounted to only 10 percent of the population. For nativists, this was "proof" that immigrants were a subversive force in America. Immigrants increased the competition for jobs, and nativists feared that the Democratic party would gain political power from these new American citizens. The Know-Nothings had several specific goals: prohibit foreign-born citizens from holding office, promote the reading of the Bible in the public schools, and extend the probation period for naturalization and citizenship from five to twenty-one years.[9]

Quite often paranoid politics was based on some fact.

Catholicism, for example was a growing religious force in the United States. In 1808 there were only eight Catholic diocese, sixty-eight priests, and eighty Catholic churches; by 1855 there were forty-one diocese, 1,704 priests, and over 1,820 churches. Thus it appeared to the Know-Nothings that the Roman papacy was firmly planted upon American soil.[10]

By 1854 the Know-Nothing party was represented in thirty-three states and claimed over 1.5 million voters. The party controlled many school boards throughout the country. In 1847 many nativists supported the Whig party's presidential nominee General Zachary Taylor. He received over 1.3 million votes, and became President the following year. In 1852 Millard Fillmore, who succeeded Taylor as President after the general's sudden death in 1850, became a member of the Know-Nothings. In 1856, as their standard-bearer for the American party, he received over 800,000 votes.[11] But the Know-Nothings could not survive the North-South split over abolition.

After the Civil War, immigration into the United States increased. Between 1870 and 1900, over eleven million new immigrants landed in the new world. These immigrants came mostly from central and southern Europe. After the war, American politicians often accused their opponents of being subservient to Rome. Sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset and author Earl Raab noted that during the campaigns of Ulysses S. Grant (1868 and 1872) and Rutherford B. Hayes (1876), both candidates warned the nation that the Democrats were supported by the Catholic church in a plot to gain "control of our national affairs." In fact,

most elections were not without some religious controversy. In addition to the Catholic question, anti-semitism was on the rise as a Jewish middle-class developed.[12]

The paranoia that sprang from increased immigration gave birth to a number of fraternal nativist organizations that briefly became mass movements in the late 1800s. One such movement was the American Protective Association (APA), founded in 1887, in Clinton, Iowa. It was one of the most widely supported nativist organizations. In 1893, at its national meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, delegates from twenty-two states gathered. By then, the APA claimed to have over half a million members. Like the Know-Nothings, the APA was anti-Catholic. It appealed to middle-class Protestants who had experienced social disruptions because of the unstable economic environment. The APA was, of course, anti-immigration, so much so that some members of the APA proposed a complete ban on immigration. Besides immigration restrictions, the APA sought taxation of Catholic church property, and the public inspection of Masonic institutions. Most of the APA's goals were not met, and the organization fell apart due to internal conflict.[13]

As the United States entered the twentieth century, and the European nations rumbled toward war, social unrest in America set the stage for further paranoia. In the years before the war, America went through a series of dramatic changes, which were both exciting and unsettling. Wondrous inventions opened the world to moving pictures, the early stages of flight, electricity, and the introduction of Henry Ford's Model-T. By

1908, almost half a million automobiles had been sold, and on the eve of World War I, 1.5 million automobiles were registered in the United States.[14] The changes that resulted from these inventions were tremendous. The movies excited a generation of youth, and worried parents of the cinema's potential disruptive influence. Gender roles also took on new twists, as women fought for suffrage rights. It also became no longer completely taboo to discuss topics of a sexual nature. In the intellectual realm, Charles Darwin and Sigmund Freud shattered religiously-based explanations for human existence. During this period the nation's population base shifted from a largely rural to an urban orientation. That transition drew attention to the immense problems that confronted urban life. The rapid city growth created horrendous living conditions in the immigrant slums. Although Progressive era reformers attacked these problems -- they also sought to reduce corruption and inefficiency -- dramatic changes nevertheless caused fear, anxiety, and apprehension on the part of many Americans. Social and economic dislocation acted as a breeding ground for paranoid politics. By the time of World War I, many Americas found new threats to explain society's problems.

The Great War launched America into perhaps the most paranoid period in the country's history. German-Americans bore the brunt of society's fears. Propaganda by the British in America, and the U.S. government's Committee on Public Information, portrayed the Germans as evil Huns. The committee preached Americanism, patriotism, and hatred of the enemy: the

Germans. What resulted was an assault on all things German, and upon those who were against the war effort. The German language was dropped from many school curriculums; German names were Americanized; German dishes were discontinued at restaurants; towns that had been named after German counterparts were renamed by their citizens; and German-Americans were considered disloyal to America merely because of their national heritage.[15] Similar examples of paranoia would resurface thirty years later during the anti-communist, McCarthy era.

When the Bolshevik Revolution occurred in November, 1917, the American people were already at a heightened state of paranoia. Not only did the Bolsheviks make a separate peace with Germany, but the revolution espoused an ideology which rejected capitalism. Many in the United States believed that Germany had influenced the revolution. Though this was not the case, the American public was indeed shocked by the events, and feared that the Red Menace would spread across the continent of Europe. At the same time, many American radicals supported the Russian revolution, and some sought a similar uprising in the United States. Labor unrest increased after the war, as did the violence with which the protesters conducted their strikes. The American people viewed the bombings and riots as a prelude to a Red revolution. That fear, combined with the apprehensions caused by the dislocations from war, increased America's sense that the nation was coming apart at the seams.[16]

In response to the increased number of riots and strikes, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer stepped up his

investigations. He created a branch of the Justice Department known as the General Intelligence Division (GID). Its mission was to collect information about radical groups and individuals. A young J. Edgar Hoover was appointed head of this new division, which had a mission to investigate internal threats to the nation. Palmer and Justice Department agents raided the meeting places of Russian and radical workers in many cities across the country. People were jailed, often beaten, and searched without warrants. Thousands were arrested without cause. For some, these raids produced a mind set that accepted government action, and laid the ground work for McCarthyism. For the first time, federal and state government leaders created official policy which promoted the paranoid movement against the "enemies" of the nation. By 1920 the Red Scare was over, as a number of prominent legal figures exposed the illegal practices of the Justice Department, and as Americans began to tire of the great red hunt. However, the Red Scare instilled in the American psyche a legacy of patriotic slogans and anti-communist feelings.[17]

Though the Red Scare ended for the most part in the early 1920s, it left behind many groups and organizations that would continue to press the cause of anti-radicalism and anti-bolshevism. Such groups included: the American Defense Society, the National Security League, the National Civic Foundation, the National Patriotic Council, the Better American Federation, and the United States Patriotic Society. The Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion gained the most support; together they had an estimated membership of over 4.5 million by 1924. These two

groups called for the "Americanization" of school texts, the requirement of loyalty oaths, and stronger immigration laws. They claimed that bolshevism had adversely influenced churches, schools, colleges, and labor unions.[18]

The stock market crash of 1929, and the depression years that followed, were a major turning point in American history. The administration of Herbert Hoover was unable to cope with the severity of the economic debacle. The 1932 presidential election brought a Democrat, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, into the White House with a landslide victory. Congressional elections also gave the Democrats firm control of the House and the Senate. Many New Deal programs passed quickly through a Democratic Congress, and initially found little opposition around the nation. In reaction to government's enlarged role, resistance and resentment grew as the New Deal failed to take care of some, did too much for others.[19]

A strong coalition of right-wing conservatives opposed virtually all aspects of FDR's programs. Republicans held no monopoly on paranoid style politics and opposition to the New Deal. However, they were particularly concerned that New Deal programs would go beyond mending the fiscal crisis, and threaten traditional values of individualism and economic opportunity. They tended to view the administration's policies as a collectivist, socialist threat to a free America. At the Republican party's convention in 1936, many of them expressed apprehension about Roosevelt's policies.[20] These disgruntled Republicans, who had felt excluded from the decision-making

process during the rebuilding years of the depression, warned that communists and socialists had infiltrated the government.

Although the threat of an internal communist overthrow of the nation's political system was far from a real possibility, the growth of the American Communist party to around 100,000 in the early Thirties, combined with the perceived socialist tendencies of some of the New Deal programs and the rise of unionism in the country, made conservatives wary of the Roosevelt administration. Conservatives viewed many of the New Deal (such as the National Recovery Administration) programs as ventures into state socialism, which breached the principles of traditional capitalism, and encouraged an internal communist conspiracy.[21]

During the 1930s, Father Charles Coughlin exhibited an extreme version of paranoid style politics. Coughlin, the radio priest, had an estimated audience of ten to thirty million. He blamed a conspiracy of bankers, communists, Jews, and the eastern establishment for the depression and the socialist tendencies of the New Deal.[22]

In 1938 anti-communist paranoia became intrenched within Congress. Martin Dies, a Democratic congressmen from Texas, created the Special House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Dies wanted to investigate sit-down strikes. But the committee's first project was to scrutinize the Works Progress Administration's Federal Theater and Writer's Project, which Dies thought was a "hotbed" for communists. Subsequently, Congress terminated the project.[23]

To add fuel to the fire of anti-communist paranoia, when the Soviet Union and Germany signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939, many Americans viewed this as an un-holy alliance between the communist and fascist threats to world peace. Americans who had been connected with the Communist party became disillusioned with the Soviet Union, and many left the Communist party.

Once the United States became involved in World War II, Americans united against the recognized threats to world peace: Nazi Germany and Japan. From that heightened sense of fear came one of the most tragic examples of paranoid politics in American history. Japanese-Americans, though many fought with distinction for the United States in Europe, were treated with hostility at home. On the West Coast, where the Japanese-American population was the most concentrated, many Americans feared an invasion from Japan. Thus, thousands of Japanese-Americans under governmental orders were abruptly taken from their homes and put in internment camps for the duration of the war. Most lost their land and businesses.[24] Indeed, paranoid fears led to extreme expressions of conspiratorial thought.

At the conclusion of the war, the conferences between the superpowers at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, heightened -- for the conservative right -- the fear of a Soviet conspiracy. The Soviets wanted control of Eastern Europe as a buffer zone from the West, but many American diplomats saw that Soviet desire as a prelude to incorporating those nations into a Soviet empire on its way toward world domination. At the very least the conservative Republicans worried that those countries would

become satellites of the Soviet Union. American conservatives believed that Poland and central Europe had been betrayed at the post-war conferences, and blamed the Democratic administration for the blunder.[25] With the foreign policy situation unstable, some Americans began to feel that somehow the U.S. had "lost the peace." As their fear of a communist adversary abroad grew, they looked for the communist enemy at home. This form of paranoia found a home within the Republican party. Conservatives, who traditionally feared change, viewed communism as a fundamental threat to individual freedoms, and blamed Democrats and liberals for the decline of morality and patriotism in America.

For conservatives, events in the United States provided additional "proof" of an internal communist threat. In 1945 the FBI and the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) discovered that a little known left-wing journal on Asian politics, Amerasia, had hundreds of top secret documents in its offices. In June, six people were arrested, among them three had worked for the State Department as minor employees. These events prompted conservatives to worry that communists had infiltrated the State Department at all levels. Thus, a series of investigations began into possible subversion in the Department of State, and a few committees in Congress began to struggle with loyalty issues.[26]

Harry Truman's administration, under pressure to respond to the paranoia of a communist plot, responded with The Truman Doctrine and a federal loyalty program. The Truman Doctrine, in which the president called on the United States to defend the people of the world from the oppression of communism, signaled

that the administration considered the struggle against the communist threat as a major role for the nation. Cold War policies abroad reinforced the need to defend the nation from the Soviet threat at home. During World War II, FDR had instituted a security program, but Truman on March 22, 1947, with Executive Order 9835, formally institutionalized a loyalty program. Truman had hoped to pacify anti-communists with his order, but its effect was to open flood gates for federal probes of un-American activities. Ultimately, Loyalty Review Boards investigated over four million government employees, made formal charges against 9,000, of them nearly four hundred were dismissed as security risks.[27]

With the green light from the administration, HUAC rushed to find communist subversion where ever it could. Since the early war years the Attorney General had compiled a list of organizations that were suspected of subversive activities. The number of such groups on the list was only forty-seven during the war, but by the spring of 1948, the list had grown to seventy-eight. Eventually over one hundred forty such organizations were listed. The Seventy-ninth Congress (1945-47), had conducted only four investigations, while the Eightieth launched twenty-two probes into communism. The major target for HUAC in 1947 was Hollywood. The fast life-style that the movie industry portrayed was a perfect target for those who sought to explain why morality in America was on the decline. That many of the studios were controlled by Jewish money only added to the illusion that a foreign element was in control of the powerful image industry.[28]

The HUAC investigation which perhaps most aroused conservative Republicans was the Alger Hiss case. That case brought forward Whittaker Chambers, who became a key member of the anti-communist movement in the U.S.. Chambers, a Communist party member in the 1930s, testified before HUAC in 1948, that he knew of Hiss's activities as a spy for the Soviet Union. Hiss, a former employee of the State Department, denied the charges, and sued Chambers for libel. But a grand jury indicted Hiss for perjury. He was found guilty, and sentenced to two years in jail. For the Right, the Hiss case confirmed that a communist conspiracy was indeed at work in the halls of government.[29]

In 1949, events galvanized anti-communists. When Mao Zedong and his Communist forces pushed the Nationalists off the mainland of China and onto the island of Taiwan, many in America questioned how the United States had permitted such an event of occur. Conservatives blamed the State Department and the Truman administration for the blunder. That same spring the Soviets shocked the United States with the explosion of a nuclear device. That revelation caused many to wonder how the Soviets had developed such a weapon so quickly. In February of 1950, the answer became apparent when a British physicist, Klaus Fuchs, confessed to having passed nuclear secrets to the Soviets in the mid-1940s. On the heels of the Fuchs trial, Julis and Ethel Rosenberg were charged with and found guilty of passing atomic secrets to the Soviets. Though some believed that the Rosenbergs had been framed, they were executed on June 19, 1953.[30]

By this time the hysteria of communist subversion in America

had reached a fevered pitch. Almost every aspect of life in the country was affected. In the late 1940s many unions purged themselves of any influence from communists. In the field of education, textbooks were screened for communist and socialist references. In the state of Washington, state senator Albert Canwell's committee charged six professors with being members of the Communist party; and in California, regents of the university required that all university employees sign loyalty oaths. The California state legislature then required that all government employees sign a similar oath. In many states throughout the nation similar hearings were conducted into communist subversion in schools and universities. Many people lost jobs, and in Hollywood many were blacklisted.[31]

On February 9, 1950, Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy gave his famous speech in Wheeling, West Virginia. He claimed that he had a list of "205" names of people in the State Department who had communist affiliations. With that speech the era soon that bore McCarthy's name was under way.[32]

McCarthyism was different in some ways from previous manifestations of the paranoid style. Catholics, for example, who in the past had often been the targets of fear and distrust, were now more established and thus more likely to join the search for subversive, un-American elements. But, like earlier nativistic movements, post World War II anti-communism appealed to many Americans who felt threatened by massive changes. It also reflected the politics of resentment toward the upper class, with all of its perceived advantages and privileges. Anti-

communists typically viewed the eastern Ivy League liberals as immoral, and responsible for the communist threat to the nation. Though McCarthy did not start this revived Red Scare, he was able to manipulate the issue of anti-communism better than most of his contemporaries. McCarthy and other Republicans, eager to gain political control after many years of frustration at the polls, used redbaiting tactics against their opponents during election campaigns. McCarthyism was a perfect reflection of paranoid politics.[33]

During the 1950s, the McCarthy era hysteria encouraged an anti-communist conservative intellectual movement. The intellectual movement traced its roots from the anti-communism of the 1930s. It found a special welcome among Republicans who had opposed their party's willingness to compromise with the New Deal.

Whittaker Chamber's book Witness, published in 1952, had a tremendous influence upon the intellectual movement of the Right. Chambers had been a member of the Communist party in the 1930s, and left when he became disillusioned. Like many ex-communists, he went on to expose communism. Because of his personal experience with communism, anti-communists were inclined to accept without question what he had to say on the issue. Anti-communists often used ex-communists, who were willing, to testify before investigating committees as expert witnesses. Chambers' book outlined the struggle of anti-communism in three distinct ways. First, he portrayed the battle as a titanic struggle that transcended history. Second, the crisis with communism was a

crisis of faith. Since communism represented the idea of "man" without God, the fight against communism pitted the forces of good versus the forces of evil. And finally, he connected secular liberalism with communism. Interrelated, they both were the enemy of "God loving, anti-communist Americans."[34] His book was important because he injected religion into the anti-communist struggle, and held liberals responsible for the communist threat to America. The Right believed that it was liberals in government, and in society, who prevented an all-out assault on communism. Liberals were "responsible" for the decline of American power, and the lapse of morality in the country.

More than anyone, William F. Buckley, Jr., helped to provide a vehicle for the emerging conservative ideology. In the early 1950s, few conservative journals existed. And they generally did not represent the growing number of right-wing intellectuals who blended the themes of interventionist anti-communism, religion, and a conservative economic agenda. In 1955, Buckley established the National Review. Within two years it had a circulation of over 18,000, and a year later its readership exceeded 25,000. Through the National Review, Buckley opposed the growth of government, vehemently supported anti-communism, and loosely defended the South's struggle against school integration on constitutional grounds as well as those of state's rights.[35]

The journal attracted a number of key conservative writers. It also became a focal point of conservative thought for a growing number of people who were disenchanted with the

Republican party's relaxed attitude toward liberals in government and communism. Patrick Buchanan, who later became a member of the Richard Nixon White House said, "To the conservatives of the silent generation, Buckley was a real beacon. He was as responsible as any one for my being part of the conservative movement." Richard Viguerie, the mailing list guru of the New Right, credited Buckley as one of two men who was most responsible for the revitalization of the conservative movement in America; the other was Arizona's Republican Senator, Barry Goldwater.[36] Buckley was indeed influential, and was one of the few articulate voices for the Right during the liberal years of President Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society." By 1962, Buckley had become a syndicated columnist, and in 1966 he developed a TV program, Firing Line, from which he gained celebrity status as a conservative spokesman. Buckley, the author of many books, also founded the conservative youth group, Young Americans for Freedom. While Buckley infused intellectual conservatism with energy, Barry Goldwater transformed the political Right. The Draft Goldwater movement in 1964 wrested control of the Republican party from the old guard. Goldwater's speech accepting the GOP nomination attacked those who did not support his brand of anti-communism. He stated: "I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice; And let me remind you that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."[37]

Even though Goldwater lost the election in a landslide to Johnson, his campaign had a profound effect on the conservative movement in America. His candidacy put the Republican party into

the hands of a new, more adversarial, conservative branch of the GOP. It also shifted the party's base to the South and West, just as the population in the United States moved in that direction. The 1964 campaign introduced many conservatives to the political scene for the first time, and created a mailing list of new conservatives who would continue to be active for years to come. The campaign also launched the political career of Ronald Reagan. He made an effective televised speech for Goldwater, which brought him to the forefront of the new conservative movement.[38]

By the 1960s, the powerful Goldwater movement was only one example of the swelling tide of conservative anti-communist sentiment. More extreme groups were not only anti-communist, but often hostile toward the two-party system of government. The most visible of these groups was the John Birch Society (JBS). Founded in 1958 by Robert H. W. Welch Jr., it was organized to warn the nation of the communist threat. By 1963, JBS claimed over forty thousand members. It operated as a secret society, which linked the Illuminati conspiracy with communism. The Welch group attacked the civil rights movement, claiming that communists had infiltrated it. The JBS also criticized the Supreme Court for its decision in the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education case, which had overturned the doctrine of "separate but equal," and ruled against public school segregation. The organization even went so far as to claim that Eisenhower was a communist, or at least one who had served "Red" interests.[39]

A more mainstream expression of the extreme Right was

exhibited in the presidential campaign of Alabama governor, George Wallace. As a third party candidate for the American Independent party in 1968, he gained over 900,000 votes, which was 13.5 percent of the total vote in that election. His followers resented the antiwar youth movement that seemed to have rejected America. Supporters of Wallace were upset that the United States was unable to win the war in Vietnam quickly. Wallace appealed to many Americans who felt left out of the "liberal" administration's "Great Society." Wallace, and those who supported him, felt that they were the hard-working Americans who made "their" country great. They perceived themselves as God-fearing people who paid their taxes, were family-oriented, and worried that the country they had fought for in World War II was threatened by big business, big government, and the liberal politicians who had allowed the country to fall apart -- and become susceptible to the communist threat. Wallacites were for "law and order," and wanted to suppress those who had tainted the American dream.[40]

By the end of the 1960s, the backlash toward the liberal eastern establishment and the rebellious youth coalesced in the Republican party. In 1968, Richard Nixon gained the White House in a campaign that appealed to the "silent majority" who wanted to return to a simpler time. Social conservatives, who had developed in a response to the perceived moral breakdown of the Sixties, joined with the anti-communist right to save American values from communist designs.[41] The fusion of social conservatives and anti-communists in turn produced many groups,

organizations, lobby efforts, and newsletters aimed at saving America from its enemies.

When Phillip Abbott Luce mailed off his first issue of the Pink Sheet on the New Left, he thus joined a movement that could trace its roots deep into American history. Luce was born in Lancaster, Ohio, on October 18, 1936. His family was middle-class, and Republican. After graduating from high school in 1954, he attended Miami University of Ohio for two years. He then transferred to Mississippi State University in 1958, where he finished his undergraduate work. That same year Luce entered the graduate program at Ohio State University. Two years later, after writing a Master's thesis on the "Mississippi White Citizens Councils from 1954 to 1958," he finished with a Master's in Political Science. It was at Ohio State that he became involved with the New Left. In 1961, he moved to New York City, and began to write for various left-wing and communist journals.[42]

In 1963, members of the Progressive Labor party (PLP) asked him to join a group that was going to Cuba in defiance of a State Department ban on travel to that country. After returning from Cuba he joined the PLP. As a member of that party, he organized a second trip to Cuba, for which he was called to testify before HUAC. In 1964, he was named the editor of the party's newspaper, Progressive Labor. As a member of the inner circle he was involved in the planning of many events that the party sponsored.[43]

In August 1964, the PLP had several confrontations with the

New York City police during demonstrations against the Vietnam war. According to Luce, the leaders of the PLP wanted to provoke the police into a violent confrontation. Luce recalled that, at the time, the PLP had begun to stash a secret cache of arms. Leaders of the PLP planned to go underground in order to be trained in the martial arts, and to launch terrorist activities. It was at this time that Luce began to question the party's actions, and worried that the secret plans could put many members of the party at risk without their knowledge. In January 1965, he considered leaving the party, and shortly thereafter turned himself in to the FBI.[44] Luce seemed to follow the footsteps of many ex-communists, like Whittaker Chambers, who became ardent anti-communists after having seen the inner workings of the communist and socialist world. The Right perceived some ex-communists as heroes who could provide inside information for the battle against communism.

It was at this point, like so many ex-communists before him, that Luce sought to expose subversive activities; his focus was on the New Left, in which he included liberal activists and politicians. After having written several books, and a number of articles, Luce started The Pink Sheet on the New Left. With the help of Richard Viguerie's mailing list company -- which helped many right-wing journals get off the ground in the late 1960s and 1970s -- the Pink Sheet attracted over 5,500 subscribers in its first year. Viguerie was part owner of the journal for two years, after which he sold his portion of the newsletter to the publisher, Thomas L. Phillips.[45] With the publication of the

first issue on May 28, 1971, Luce's Pink Sheet joined the vast array of conservative organizations that would shape America's political landscape in the later twentieth century.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

[1]Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics, and other essays (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 31-32, 39.

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[4]Davis, Fear of Conspiracy, xvi, xx, 1; Hofstadter, Paranoid Style, xiii, 51, 58-59.

[5]Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1977, sec. ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), xv-xvi, 3, 8, 14, 24, 16.

[6]Bennett, Party of Fear, 11-12.

[7]Ibid., 22-25; Lipset and Raab, Politics of Unreason, 35-37.

[8]Lipset and Raab, Politics of Unreason, 39-46.

[9]Bennett, Party of Fear, 53-54, 62, 64, 68, 70, 72; Lipset and Raab, Politics of Unreason, 49-50.

[10]Bennett, Party of Fear, 77, 80-81, 87.

[11]Ibid., 107, 115-116; Lipset and Raab, Politics of Unreason, 50, 52.

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[13]Bennett, Party of Fear, 171-172, 174, 176-178.

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[16]Bennett, Party of Fear, 187-189; Murray, Red Scare, 15-17.

[17]Bennett, Party of Fear, 189-197; Murray, Red Scare, 240-241; For a work that covers the Palmer raids see: Stanley Coben, A. Mitchell Palmer: Politician (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

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[27]Bennett, Party of Fear, 286; Fried, Nightmare in Red, 68; For a good book about Harry Truman see: Robert J. Donovan's, Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1977).

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[35]John B. Judis, William F. Buckley, Jr.; Patron Saint of the Conservatives (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 18, 52-53, 131-133, 136-138, 140.

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[42]Phillip Abbott Luce, The New Left (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1966), 24-27; Phillip Abbott Luce, "What the 'New Left' Did to Me," The Reader's Digest, 7 February 1967, 94.

[43]Luce, New Left, 41-42; Luce, "What the 'New Left' Did to Me," 95-96; Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, Violations of State Department Travel Regulations and Pro-Castro Propaganda Activities in the United States, 88th cong., 1st sess., 12-13 September 1963, 738.

[44]Luce, "Why I Quit the Extreme Left," Saturday Evening Post, 8 May 1965, 32-33; Luce, New Left, 41-42; Luce, "What the 'New Left' Did to Me," 97.

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CHAPTER II

The First Years of the Pink Sheet, 1971-1975

On May 28, 1971, with little fanfare and without a statement of purpose, Phillip A. Luce's newsletter made its debut. Written in a straight-forward style, the Pink Sheet on the New Left collected information about left-wing activities, and "exposed" communist-linked organizations, individuals, and politicians. The Pink Sheet was part of the growing backlash against the turbulence of the 1960s. The newsletter found its place within the political right, at a time when "Middle America" saw its world torn apart. For Middle Americans, or what President Richard Nixon called "the Silent Majority," the disintegration of American values was apparent in urban riots, the anti-war movement, the drug culture, free love, and rock and roll. The newsletter was representative of the rising political right in the 1970s, and the "New Right" that would coalesce a decade later. As former FBI agent Herbert Philbrick, author of the best-selling book I Led 3 Lives (1972), and a supporter of the Pink Sheet, wrote, "The Pink Sheet on the New Left will be an important weapon in the fight to keep America Free."[1]

In the early 1970s when the Pink Sheet first appeared, the turbulence from the 1960s still raged. Although the Richard Nixon administration was bringing many American troops home, the war in Vietnam endured as U.S. bombing increased. Protests against the war continued, and in May 1970 the nation was shocked when the Ohio National Guard killed four students who were

protesting at Kent State University. The silent majority of Nixon and Alabama governor George Wallace worried that the 1960s had corrupted America's youth. The Pentagon Papers, published by the New York Times, added to right-wing paranoia about a liberal media conspiracy gone wild -- a conspiracy which, according to some on the right, would bring down the government. The Pink Sheet picked up on many of these themes. On September 3, 1971, the journal attacked Daniel Ellsberg for having "made common cause with the left-wing revolution." The Pink Sheet worried that the Left would use the Pentagon Papers as a weapon "to attack and further weaken the United States military."[2]

Because of Luce's personal involvement with the New Left, the newsletter during its early years focused on those groups and individuals that Luce feared were subverting America. These groups included those that would undermine the education system, particularly at the university level, control the media, and infiltrate or support alleged communist and socialist organizations of all types. The list of organizations was quite long, and was a virtual who's who of the left. They included such groups as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Black Panthers, the Communist Party U.S.A., the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), the Weathermen, and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Individuals whom the Pink Sheet scrutinized were the usual suspects that the Right often labeled as enemies of America. They included activists, entertainers, and politicians. Among the activists were the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Julian Bond, Eldridge Cleaver, the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, Dick Gregory, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, attorney William Kunstler, Timothy Leary, Malcolm X, Huey Newton, Jerry Rubin, Bobby Seale, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Gloria Steinem. Politicians and government officials who fell under attack were Representatives Bella Abzug and Ronald Dellums, Senators Senator Frank Church, Edward Kennedy, George McGovern, and Edmund Muskie, and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Entertainers who drew fire from the Pink Sheet included Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Jane Fonda, and Pete Seeger, along with communists Herbert Aptheker, Angela Davis, Gus Hall, and Cora Weiss.

The Pink Sheet did not overlook the media. It criticized all three television networks. Its focus on the print media had an eastern bias against such newspapers as the New York Times -- the Pink Sheet's favorite target -- as well as the Washington Post and the Washington Star. Left-leaning journals also grabbed Luce's attention, among them Challenge, The Daily World, The Evergreen Review, The Guardian, The Militant, and Ramparts.

The Pink Sheet scrutinized government agencies which were actively involved in investigating left-wing organizations. These included the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the various Congressional committees that investigated matters of internal security, such

as the House Un-American Activities Committee, the House Internal Security Committee, the departments of Justice and State, the Federal Election Commission (FEC), and the Federal Communications Committee (FCC). These organizations addressed the many concerns the Pink Sheet had of left-wing subversion of American values.

Because of the Pink Sheet's interest in matters of internal security, in which the driving force was communism, the journal fell very neatly within the mold of a right-wing newsletter. Unlike many other right-wing groups, however, the newsletter had little interest in social and economic issues, the women's movement, and the threat of big business and big government. Certainly fear of communist subversion of America characterized the right-wing generally, but many groups that developed toward the end of the 1970s and through the 1980s were more concerned with specific social and political issues. The New Right, as the movement was called in the 1980s, wanted government to legislate their brand of morality on issues such as abortion, school prayer, busing, and sex education. In contrast, the Pink Sheet focused single-mindedly on the alleged communist threat. Anti-communism was the heart of the Pink Sheet, and its obsession.

When the Pink Sheet dealt with issues involving education, it warned of communist infiltration into the system. In two November 1971 issues the Pink Sheet discussed the election of Patricia Bonner-Lyons and Marion Berry to the Boston and Washington D.C. school boards respectively. The Pink Sheet pointed out that Bonner-Lyons was young, black, and a member of

the Communist Party's Young Workers Liberation League. Luce warned his readers in the Boston area to "alert their neighbors to the allegiances of the New Left candidate." The journal tied Berry to the Trotskyite-controlled National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). Because Berry had once signed a letter that promoted the Black Moratorium Committee, which Luce stated was supported by NPAC, this was all that was needed for the journal to discredit Berry. Luce also noted that other signers included known Socialists, and the "radical" Representative Ronald Dellums; this provided Luce with additional "proof" that the organization was not credible. Though the journal was not clearly racist, there were overtones of racism. The Pink Sheet tied many black organizations and politicians to communist front groups. That tactic was similar to those used during the 1950s and 1960s to discredit the civil rights movement.[3]

The Pink Sheet often relied on past testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) to suggest that a person was affiliated with a communist organization. Frank Donner was a member of the National Lawyers Guild, which the U.S. Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee had identified as a communist front group. Donner in 1956, when he testified before HUAC, plead the Fifth Amendment. Often the Pink Sheet used this against people because it suggested that he or she was hiding behind the law in order to keep communist affiliations secret. With these "facts" established, the journal questioned why Princeton University had permitted Donner to speak on campus at a forum on the FBI, despite the knowledge of Donner's past. As

Luce wrote, "It is not surprising that Princeton University wasn't concerned by Donner's notorious background. The Princeton conference turned out to be little more than a hatchet job on the FBI."[4]

In December 1971, the Pink Sheet objected to the appointment of John Kerry to an advisory position at the Georgetown School of Foreign Service. Kerry was a Vietnam Veteran, and a member of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, which the Pink Sheet labeled as a Communist front group. Luce connected Kerry to the Lyndon Johnson Administration because Paul Warnke, Assistant Secretary of Defense for President Johnson, had approved Kerry for the post. For the Pink Sheet, "The appointment of anti-military John Kerry as a university advisor is additional evidence that ultra-liberals will place opponents of a strong America in positions of influence wherever possible."[5]

Such examples demonstrated how the Pink Sheet used a tangled web to associate people and organizations to communism. Though The Pink Sheet was concerned about institutions of higher learning, after a year of intense study of various universities, the journal discontinued major coverage in this area. The Pink Sheet appeared to reflect the decline of activism on college campuses as America began to withdraw from the Vietnam war. Even though the war did not end for several more years the Pink Sheet increased its coverage of the 1972 election, and moved on to other issues. These factors explain the change of focus, as coverage of universities received only periodic attention from then on.

The student organization, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), received the most attention among student activist groups during the first five years that the newsletter was published (29 percent mention rating). The journal often connected SDS with the Progressive Labor Party. The Pink Sheet, as usual, made little attempt to understand the workings of the group or its philosophy. That it (SDS) had socialist or communist ties was enough to label it a threat to America. The journal also tied SDS to the 1972 presidential campaign of Senator George McGovern. Luce tried to discredit the Democratic nominee during an election year by connecting him with communist organizations. Because McGovern met with a large group of protesters during the Democratic convention in Miami, in which members of SDS and the Progressive Labor Party were present, this "proved" his radical orientation. "McGovern showed his true colors in this meeting with avowed revolutionaries." Luce warned his readers not to let the media mislead them to think "that McGovern is 'moderating' his views."[6]

The election coverage discussed very few campaign issues. The Pink Sheet did not promote a specific agenda during that election year, other than victory for conservative Republican candidates. In 1972 the newsletter interviewed several Republican candidates for Congress. A May 15 issue reported on the race in the 14th district of Ohio. In that race Norman Holt challenged the Democratic incumbent, John Seiberling Jr. The newsletter did not attempt to interview the Democratic candidate, nor was there any mention of an attempt to contact him. The

Democrat's voting record was the sole source of information used to determine his left-wing ties. That he voted against funding the Vietnam war, against the B-1 bomber, and for school busing was enough to dismiss Seiberling. The Pink Sheet used the ratings of the conservative group, American's for Constitutional Action (ACA), as a guide to judge candidates. That organization found that Seiberling voted "on the 'right' side only 8 percent of the time." The journal quoted Holt extensively, and gave him the opportunity to speak directly to the issues, and to attack Seiberling. At the end of this two-page article, the Pink Sheet encouraged its readers to support Holt by writing his campaign headquarters. Luce asked his readers to be on the lookout for "left-wing candidates for Congress in your area who should be exposed...."[7]

On July 24, 1972, the Pink Sheet printed an interview with Ohio's well known conservative Representative John Ashbrook. He received a 97 percent rating from the A.C.A.. The journal reported his position on defense matters, of which he was a strong proponent, and on trade with the Soviet Union, which he was against. The Pink Sheet published the address of his headquarters so that subscribers could make contributions.

Perhaps the most prominent conservative Republicans whom the journal covered during the 1972 election campaign were Phillip Crane from Illinois and Jesse Helms of North Carolina. Helms was making his initial bid for the Senate in 1972. On September 4, the Pink Sheet reported their views on Vietnam, busing, and amnesty for deserters and resisters of the war. Both candidates

predictably supported the Pink Sheet's view point. They endorsed the Vietnam war, were against busing, and against amnesty. Helms proposed a unique way to handle the amnesty issue. He felt that the U.S. should defer the amnesty question until after the war when a "council from the ranks of the POWs [could be formed] and [then] let them decide what should be done with the ones who ran away to Canada."[8] It was not clear from reading the article whether these were actual interviews or merely quotes obtained from other sources.

After the election, the November 13 issue of the Pink Sheet viewed the results with mixed feelings. While the newsletter expressed satisfaction with the overwhelming reelection of President Nixon it was dismayed with the large number of Republicans who had lost congressional seats. The journal blamed President Nixon for the "hording of campaign money...." The newsletter also accused Nixon of having made little effort to help fellow Republicans, and when he did, it was "too little too late." Why had Nixon done this? The Pink Sheet reasoned that the president wanted "to keep a liberal Congress in Washington" because his Family Assistance Program and policy of trade with the Soviet Union would pass through a Democratic Congress easier than a Republican one. In any event, the Pink Sheet viewed Nixon's actions as very "costly...to his Party and the future of America."[9]

The electronic and print media was another favorite target of the Pink Sheet. During the first five years of publication, the journal discussed media organizations in 90 percent of the

issues. The newsletter scrutinized both the print media and television. Among the broadcast media, NBC received mention in 18 percent of the issues. CBS followed with a 15 percent mention rating, and ABC brought up the rear with a 9 percent rating. In the print format, the New York Times was the most mentioned newspaper with a 26 percent rating during that period.

The Pink Sheet implied that the media, left-wing activists, and educational leaders were all working together to subvert America. In the fifth issue of the newsletter there was an example of this conspiracy. The headline of the story was: "Washington Post aids left-wing 'educators.'" The Pink Sheet reported that a source had revealed "that the Left has made a significant thrust in the capital city toward its two most important infiltration targets: education and the communication media." The newsletter noted that Howard University had just opened a department in communications with the support of "an enormous grant from the ultra-liberal Washington Post." According to the Pink Sheet, the university's radio station would undoubtedly became a propaganda tool for the Left. The station's new manager had worked for a station in California. The journal reported that the Pacific Foundation, an organization the Pink Sheet described as "an outfit carrying on radical work under the tax-exempt guise of 'political research,'" had controlled the manager's former place of employment. The newsletter concluded that Howard University would create a "left-wing program under its control,...[to] 'train' communications students...[to] broadcast the leftist programing that its 'faculty' desires."[10]

Though ABC was the least-mentioned television network, in part because the Pink Sheet saw it as "the least liberal of the three national networks," it was not without scrutiny. On January 21, 1974, the journal criticized ABC for airing a documentary on the Ethel and Julius Rosenberg trial. In the early 1950's the Rosenbergs had been accused of passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union, and were eventually executed. The newsletter was wary of left-wing attempts to present the "espionage charges...[as] a miscarriage of justice."[11]

In the Pink Sheet's sixth issue, the newsletter attacked NBC for hiring Marc Schleifer, whom Luce identified as a former comrade in the Progressive Labor party. Luce questioned whether NBC had hired Schleifer with the full knowledge of Schleifer's background. Since Schleifer was a Middle East correspondent for NBC, the journal feared that he would promote the Palestine guerrilla movement. In that issue, the journal devoted two full pages to Schleifer, and Luce provided a detailed account of Schleifer's left-wing activities. At the conclusion of the article Luce challenged NBC to look into Schleifer's background. Luce also asked the readers to write and protest directly to NBC.[12] The next several issues focused on this story, culminating in a four-page spread on September 3, which attempted to prove that Schleifer was indeed a radical leftist. The Pink Sheet described him as an "admitted Communist, drug user and 'international representative' of a PROGRESSIVE LABOR front-group...." Luce kept the Pink Sheet readers informed of his own efforts to apply pressure on NBC to fire Schleifer. Luce

contacted officials in the Nixon administration to look into the issue. The journal had also requested the media watchdog group, Accuracy in Media (AIM), to investigate the matter. This was a good example of how the political Right combined its efforts to lobby for a particular cause.[13]

The Pink Sheet also studied left-wing journals. During the first five years the newsletter mentioned these journals in about 70 percent of its issues. The Communist Party USA's newspaper, the Daily World, drew most of the attention with a 25 percent mention rating. Leftist journals, such as the Daily World, provided a large source of information for the writers of the Pink Sheet. On April 3, 1972, the Pink Sheet addressed an article from the Daily World, about the Children's March for Survival. The Washington, D.C., school board had supported the march, and according to the Pink Sheet, a number of school board members were left-wingers. The newsletter reported that, during the march, many participants received free copies of the Daily World. In another instance the Pink Sheet reported that the Daily World had attempted to gain support for three leftists who had been arrested for passing bad checks. The Pink Sheet stated, "If these Reds are found guilty of criminal activities, this will be additional proof that the Communist party is using hoodlums to serve its revolutionary aims." A third example of the Pink Sheet's use of the Daily World was a story about a Democratic nominee for New York City council who had received favorable coverage in the communist newspaper. The Pink Sheet saw this as a sure indication that the candidate, Miriam Friedlander, was a

member of the Communist party. For the Pink Sheet this was further proof that "Communist and other radicals would use conventional politics to advance their revolutionary goals."[14] The newsletter covered many other left-leaning journals in much the same fashion. Some of those journals included the Militant, which the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance published, as well as the Evergreen Review, and the National Guardian.

While the Pink Sheet criticized the media and the entertainment industry, there were a few instances in which the newsletter praised a few movies. On January 24, 1972, the Pink Sheet criticized the Daily World's coverage of the movie "Dirty Harry," starring Clint Eastwood. The communist journal had attacked the movie for depicting the Bill of Rights as "a monkeywrench in the machinery of justice...." Luce noted that, "if the Communist Party doesn't like the film's message, at least the content must have some merit. I recommend you see it."[15]

The Pink Sheet used the tactic of tying various groups and organizations together to create the appearance of a conspiracy. On November 27, 1972, the newsletter connected the United Church of Christ with the Communist party. The church had used the Daily World to publicize the creation of the "Jackie Robinson Memorial Award," given to a black athlete who made significant contributions to racial justice. The Pink Sheet severely criticized the church for "using the service of a crusading atheistic publication." Luce printed a photocopy from the Daily World of the award announcement. The Pink Sheet revealed that

the journal's associate editor, Jeff Coman, had called the office of the United Church of Christ to inquire about the story. This was an unusual admission on the part of the Pink Sheet; not often was ground work on a story revealed.[16]

The Pink Sheet, scrutinized church organizations which the journal considered to lean left politically. During the first five years of publication, the newsletter covered left-wing church groups in about 34 percent of the issues (forty-one mentions). Though the journal had no clear favorite, the United Methodist Church drew the most attention. On November 29, 1971, the newsletter reported that the Methodist Church had made a $2,000 contribution to the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).[17] It was a rare instance that the Pink Sheet dealt with social issues such as abortion, and with women's issues. In fact during its first five years the journal focused on social issues in only 29 percent of its issues, (thirty-four mentions) and on women only 18 percent of the time (twenty-two mentions).

The journal would only look into these matters when it could link such issues with allegedly communist organizations. For example, the Pink Sheet, connected WONAAC with the Trotskyite Socialist Workers party, and the Youth Socialist Alliance. The newsletter noted that the speakers at a rally for abortion rights had left-wing connections, and that WONAAC had organized the rally.[18] When the Pink Sheet attempted to contact the United Methodist Church, it was rebuffed. Under pressure from the newsletter readership the church released a statement.

The church admitted supporting the abortion rights organization. Even with this admission, the Pink Sheet was not satisfied. It questioned the wisdom of such support, and wondered if church members knew "that their money would be used to support revolutionaries?" The Pink Sheet believed that the church leaders had "a great deal of explaining to do to the church members."[19]

Even more unsettling to the Pink Sheet was the fact that the anti-war movement group, "Project Air War," received funds from the United Methodist Church, the United Presbyterian Church, and the United Church of Christ. The newsletter viewed Project Air War as "a radical propaganda front agitating against U.S. activities in Southeast Asia." According to the Pink Sheet, the leader of the group, Fred Branfman, was a member of the "Campaign to End the Air War." The Pink Sheet noted that Branfman was also listed as a member of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) in an ad in the New York Times. The journal reported that "the PCPJ is heavily infiltrated by communists" and urged church members to "oppose support for political radicals. And to be sure to tell fellow church members so that they'll know the truth, too."[20]

Subscribers supplied a number of stories for the Pink Sheet. On January 7, 1974, an Ohio subscriber, and a member of the Methodist church, acquired a list of organizations which were financially supported by his church. The list revealed that the church had made donations to a number of left-wing organizations, which amounted to over $45,000. The newsletter suggested that

members of the church apply pressure the leadership of the United Methodist Church, in order to change the policy of supporting left-wing causes.[21]

On June 9, 1975, the journal scrutinized the United Church of Christ. Reverend Charles E. Cobb, the Executive Director of the church's "Commission for Racial Justice," spoke at a rally which the "National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression" had organized. The journal identified that group as a Communist front organization. A Pink Sheet reporter who had attended the rally noticed the presence of a number of people the newsletter had tied to communist organizations. Among those people were Angela Davis and Mike Myerson, both members of the Communist Party. The Pink Sheet called on church members to write and "protest the shameful conduct of Rev. COBB."[22]

The journal took notice of the National Council of Churches when the president of that organization, the Reverend W. Sterling Cary, traveled to Paris to meet with a representative of the Viet Cong. Others on that trip included Cora Weiss, leader of the "Committee of Liaison," which the Pink Sheet described as a "pro-Hanoi" front group which specialized in the harassment of "families of U.S. POWs," and Grace Paley, a "prominent [member] in the Communist infiltrated 'War Resister's League.' Isn't it simply incredible?" the Pink Sheet raged. "The leader of a national organization of Christian churches serves as willing propaganda tool for Communists -- the sworn enemies of the Christian faith!" The article closed: "Is it any wonder that patriotic Americans are disgusted with the antics of 'liberal'

church leaders like Rev. CARY? It is no surprise that the churches of such 'leaders' are losing members."[23] The Pink Sheet reflected the feelings of some in America who were upset with the liberal 1960s. This upswell of resentment was a catalyst for the "New Right" that developed in the 1970s and coalesced in the 1980s during the Ronald Reagan Administration.

The Pink Sheet used the Communist party to discredit organizations and individuals alike. It did this by tying organizations to members of the Communist party and the party's alleged front groups. In an early issue, it reported on a meeting of the National Committee of the Communist party in New York City. The newsletter outlined the agenda for the meeting, and the plans that the party had for various activities, ranging from selecting its Communist candidate for President and Vice-President, to fundraising.[24] As the Pink Sheet increased its coverage of the 1972 election, the newsletter also studied Communist party candidates for office more closely. The journal saw the Party's candidates as "merely [a] smoke screen for Communist Party support of Sen. George McGovern." The Pink Sheet found proof for this in the party's monthly publication, Political Affairs, in which an article urged "CP'ers to support 'progressive' political candidates." The Pink Sheet identified this as an "established pattern of Communist Party electoral activity."[25]

The Pink Sheet used the smallest details to connect an organization to the Communist party. The "Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam" was

suspect because the same printer's union symbol which had appeared on the Communist newsletter, the Daily World, was also on the letterhead of the Committee of Liaison. The Pink Sheet noted that that symbol was the "exclusive symbol of Prompt Printing Press." This was the same company that U.S. Attorney General Francis Biddle, had identified in 1942 as a print shop which produced Communist party literature. The journal believed that, because the Committee of Liaison had among its members David Dellinger and Cora Weiss -- two known members of Communist organizations -- this was additional proof that the Committee of Liaison was "linked closely to the Communist Party as another tool in the arsenal of the revolutionary left in America."[26]

Toward the end of 1972 election campaign the Pink Sheet was extremely upset that the Communist presidential candidate had obtained air time on the NBC national radio network. The newsletter stated, "Something is very wrong,...when the status of legitimacy is affixed to the candidate of the Communist Party, USA." Since the party was the "sworn enemy of the democratic system," and served as an "arm of the Kremlin,...[it had] no right to utilize the political processes of this republic to further totalitarian goals."[27]

On July 9, 1973, the Pink Sheet linked the University of Massachusetts, Xerox Corporation, the trade journal Publishers Weekly, and "known communist" Herbert Aptheker together. The university had acquired the papers and manuscripts of W.E.B. DuBois, with the intention of publishing the material, with Aptheker as editor. Publishers Weekly described Aptheker as a

"'friend and literary custodian of the late black leader,'" but failed to identify him as a member of the Communist party. For the Pink Sheet, this put the whole project under suspicion. The journal questioned why the backgrounds of Aptheker and DuBois had been ignored, and why the University of Massachusetts, "a tax-supported institution, would be interested at all in Communist Dubois' manuscript...." The newsletter urged residents of Massachusetts to write their governor and protest the involvement of the state university in such a project.[28]

The Communist party was not the only communist group that the Pink Sheet covered. (See table 1) Other organizations, such as the Progressive Labor Party, the Youth Socialist Alliance, and as the Socialist Workers Party, received much the same treatment as the Communist party. An interesting story involving the SWP, was about a former member who had become a reporter for the Washington Star-News. On January 8, 1973, the Pink Sheet reported that the Star-News had hired Calvin Zon as a reporter. Zon had at one time written articles for the Socialist Workers party's newspaper, the Militant. The Pink Sheet concluded that this was "proof that we must maintain constant vigilance to the efforts of revolutionaries attempting to infiltrate America's institutions, the news media included." Luce, as he often did, asked the readers to write to the newspaper in protest of Zon's employment at the Star-News. The newsletter questioned the intentions of the Star-News, stating, "A darker, more ominous possibility is that the Star-News is deliberately slanting its news coverage and turning left to compete with the Washington

Post."[29]

Table 1 -- Communist and Socialist Organizations

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1971-75	PERCENTAGE ISSUES
COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS, TOTAL	432	100%
COMMUNIST PARTY USA	101	85%
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	60	50%
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE	38	32%
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY	31	26%
(119 total issues)		

In another story the Pink Sheet used copies of campaign receipts obtained from the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), which showed that the Socialist Workers party had donated over $3,000 to McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign. The newsletter wondered why the McGovern campaign had accepted such a contribution. "How possibly can George McGovern justify accepting money from a Marxist-Leninist organization whose 'special interest' is the ultimate overthrow of America's constitutional form of government?" The Socialist Workers party responded to the Pink Sheet, denying that it had ever made a contribution. The party demanded proof of the Pink Sheet's accusation. Luce complied in a February 17, 1975 issue, with information from the GAO report. Four months later the SWP wrote another letter to the Pink Sheet. This letter explained that the

GAO had made an error in the 1972 campaign report, which showed that the SWP had not donated money to McGovern. The SWP subsequently accused the "right-wing slander sheet" of making "false and slanderous" charges. Luce took the SWP attack personally. He noted that the "SWP has every reason to fear the penetrating gaze of the Pink Sheet and every motivation to attempt to discredit me." Luce promised to "carry on the fight against these enemies of America."[30]

For the Pink Sheet, communism was the enemy "of freedom everywhere [as well as] here at home in the U.S.A." The journal described the internal threat to America as a "true 'fifth column' inside America...[which] serve as handmaidens for the world-wide Communist drive to isolate and destroy the United States." The Pink Sheet worried that communist organizations were bringing "order and discipline to the American far left" and thereby threatening the United States. Luce encouraged Pink Sheet readers to "rededicate ourselves to conservative, anti-communist political action. Let us -- each and every Pink Sheet supporter -- do battle in our own local towns, cities and states to defeat the left-wing. For if we do not act now, our children and grandchildren shall surely live under Communism."[31]

These statements were an excellent example of the paranoid style which Hofstadter observed in American society. The threat to America was the struggle between good and evil. Nothing less than complete victory would be accepted.[32] The Pink Sheet was not interested in compromise. For the journal the Communist party was responsible for the problems that plagued America.

With the very survival of the United States at stake the journal could not accept left-wing politics in America. One was either with the country or against it. The Pink Sheet viewed peace organizations as communist-infiltrated groups that were backed by Moscow, and designed to subvert and eventually overthrow the American way of life.

Two peace or anti-war organizations which drew the most attention from the Pink Sheet were the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), with a 26 percent mention rating (with 31 mentions), and the People's Coalition For Peace and Justice (PCPJ) which had a 24 percent mention rating (28 mentions) during the first five years of publication. The newsletter connected the NPAC with the Trotskyite Socialist Workers party, and the PCPJ with the Communist Party USA. The articles reviewed the activities of these organizations, and exposed politicians who supported them. The Pink Sheet hoped that "readers...will...remember these endorsements when election day arrives." The journal also informed subscribers about rallies that these groups held throughout the U.S., so that the proper authorities would be alert. When the NPAC planned a rally at the Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland, Ohio, the Pink Sheet asked its readers to contact school officials to "demand to know why this Trotskyite front group is being hosted." As America withdrew from the Vietnam war, the Pink Sheet became less anxious about peace organizations and concentrated more on the question of amnesty for deserters and draft-dodgers.[33]

The Pink Sheet during these first years intently scrutinized

Black activist organizations. The bulk of the attention occurred during the first three years of publication, after which it declined drastically. Of major interest to the Pink Sheet was the Black Panther party, and the Black Liberation Army. The journal saw these groups more as a threat for their revolutionary stance than for any communist association. Only one newsletter article drew a connection between these groups and the Communist party. Most stories included reports on organizational struggles and arrests of various members. The journal described these groups as a "gang of revolutionary thugs."[34] Civil rights issues were not that important to the Pink Sheet. It did, however, mention such groups as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), but only in the context of their alleged communist affiliations.
(See table 2)

Though the publication was not overtly racist, a Pink Sheet article on November 26, 1973, defended such scientists as Arthur Jensen of the University of California at Berkeley, Richard Herrnstein from Harvard, and William Shockley of Stanford, all of whom promoted theories which suggested that race could have an effect on intelligence. The newsletter attacked the "Committee Against Racism" for prohibiting an open forum for questions at a conference conducted at the University of Connecticut. The Pink Sheet connected the Progressive Labor party to the Committee, and wondered about the party's influence. The journal accused this group of being "book-burners" and criticized them for their use

of "intimidation tactics," which were "a serious threat to academic freedom."[35] Though the article did not promote the interpretation of these scientists, neither did it question the validity of their theories. The journal rarely placed a black person in a positive light. The Pink Sheet viewed groups such as the KKK as a threat, although not for their racist views, but because of their violent and revolutionary activities which were a potential threat to the American system of government.

Unlike some right-wing groups, the Pink Sheet did not exhibit an anti-elitist bias. When the newsletter focused upon corporations, which it did in 33 percent of its issues (36 mentions), it scrutinized companies that traded with communist countries. The journal feared that American companies were led by "short-sighted men [who were] selling rope to the communist hangman." The newsletter worried about China's purchase of planes from Boeing, as well as the Soviet's acquisition of American computer technology from companies such as IBM and Control Data Corporation. The journal also objected to Monsanto Chemical's willingness to help the USSR build a industrial chemical plant.[36] The Pink Sheet did not want the U.S. to trade with communist countries at all. It feared that the transfer of technology would result in the improvement of Soviet military hardware, specifically in the area of guidance systems for the MIRV (multiple independent reentry vehicles) missiles. The journal also discouraged consumer trade, as that would enable the Soviet Union to divert more of its resources toward defense-related items and away from their domestic economy.[37]

Table 2 -- Black Activist and Civil Rights Organizations

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1971-75	PERCENTAGE ISSUES
BLACK ISSUES, TOTAL NUMBER OF MENTIONS	187	100%
BLACK PANTHER PARTY	36	30%
BLACK LIBERATION ARMY	13	11%
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL	10	8%
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION	6	5%
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE	4	3%

(119 total issues)

The Pink Sheet's fear of communism dominated the journal. Nowhere was this more evident than when the Pink Sheet looked into left-wing activists, civil rights workers, and entertainers. People whom the journal labeled as left-wing, as a group were the most mentioned (500 times). The two people who drew the most attention from the Pink Sheet were Angela Davis and Jane Fonda. Others who sustained consistent scrutiny during the first five years were attorney William Kunstler, Black Panther party leader Eldridge Cleaver, Communist Party leader Gus Hall, activists Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, and singer Pete Seeger. (See table 3)

Most of the journal articles about people on the left were short reports on their activities, speeches, and political ties.

The Pink Sheet attempted to tie these people to left-wing groups or political causes which were considered to be connected in some way to communist or revolutionary organizations. With that done the journal could label these people as sympathetic to a cause, or -- to use a 1950s term -- a "fellow-traveler." As with most of its articles, the newsletter made little effort to present a balanced study of the activities of those individuals.

Table 3 -- Activists, Civil Rights Leaders, and Entertainers

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1971-75	PERCENTAGE OF ISSUES
ANGELA DAVIS	51	43%
JANE FONDA	31	26%
WILLIAM KUNSTLER	22	18%
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	20	17%
GUS HALL	20	17%
TOM HAYDEN	19	16%
ABBIE HOFFMAN	14	12%
RALPH ABERNATHY	12	10%
PETE SEEGER	10	8%
(119 total issues)		

The Pink Sheet closely followed the trial of Angela Davis. She had been accused of murder and conspiracy, but was acquitted on June 4, 1972. The journal ignored the details of the case, and only reported the efforts of the Communist party to free

Davis and to defend her. Once the newsletter established her communist ties it used her to attack others. For example, when women's rights activists Gloria Steinem supported the Davis defense fund, the Pink Sheet used this connection to discredit the women's movement, and Ms magazine for being influenced by communism. The Pink Sheet stated, "Steinem, by allowing herself to be used by the Communists, is an embarrassment to women everywhere."[38]

Civil rights leader Ralph Abernathy was discredited when he traveled to East Germany to receive the "German Peace Medal." The Pink Sheet labeled Abernathy "the newest stooge of the Communist world." This alleged fact set up another journal article. The publication noted that Angela Davis was scheduled to speak at a SCLC convention. This confirmed for the Pink Sheet, that the SCLC, Abernathy, and those who supported their cause were "less concerned with 'civil rights' than promoting radical celebrities such as Angela Davis."[39]

William Kunstler, lawyer for the "Chicago Seven," was a favorite target of the Pink Sheet. On April 2, 1972, Kunstler and Luce meet for a debate on the campus of William and Mary College. What actually took place was difficult to tell from the article in the Pink Sheet. The meeting was certainly confrontational. Luce reported that Kunstler "launched into a personal attack on me." At the close of the article, Luce stated, "The New Left is intent upon trying to frighten and intimidate me into giving up the struggle I am waging in the pages in the Pink Sheet on the New Left." This painted a picture

of Luce as the embattled warrior who alone had taken on the enemy of the Left.[40]

The Pink Sheet prominently featured Armand Hammer, head of Occidental Petroleum. The journal saw Hammer as a leader of those in the business world who were promoting trade with the Soviet Union. A November 1973 special report scrutinized Hammer's contact with Lenin and other Soviet officials. The journal even used his name "Arm and Hammer" to suggest some symbolic connection with communism. The Pink Sheet wondered: why had there not been an investigation into Hammer's background and his "special relationship with the Soviets" by some "investigative reporters." The newsletter implied that this was "a sensational story,...[which] the mass media has overlooked -- one which far overshadows Watergate in its significance to the country."[41] Luce noted that the national media had ignored liberal activities, and only seemed interested in scrutinizing the political right. For the journal this was yet another example of the news media's left-wing bias.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, active in the anti-war movement, was another person that attracted the criticism of the Pink Sheet. A May 1973 issue reported on a speech the Clark gave at Carnegie Hall in New York City to honor entertainer Paul Robeson. Many "radical luminaries" attended that event, such as Angela Davis, Sidney Poitier, Pete Seeger, and Harry Belafonte. The journal implied that because the communist publication The Guardian had covered the event, and that left-wing activists and radical entertainers were in attendance, this was proof that

communists had infiltrated the entertainment industry.[42]

As a group, entertainers were mentioned in 64 percent of the issues (76 mentions) in the Pink Sheet. Only one person drew a higher rating than 10 percent. That was of course Jane Fonda. Her anti-war activities and support for left-wing organizations, such as the Black Panthers, made Fonda a natural target for the political right in America. The Pink Sheet viewed her much publicized trip to North Vietnam as treasonous. It considered her activities as "aiding and abetting the enemy!" Luce urged his readers to write Congress, so that legislation could be enacted to prevent people from "engaging in JANE FONDA'S brand of treason...."[43]

Another person in the entertainment industry that served as a lighting rod for the right-wing, was playwright Lillian Hellman. For the journal she represented those alleged communists who were making a comeback as "part of the 'rehabilitation campaign'...for many one-time Communists or sympathizers supposedly 'victimized' by the 'McCarthy era.'" When Hellman became involved with the Committee for Public Justice, which was investigating the CIA, the Pink Sheet was critical because her activities appeared to "serve Red interests."[44] The newsletter worried that the "rehabilitation campaigns" for Lillian Hellman, the Rosenbergs, Paul Robeson, and Alger Hiss would make heroes out of them. For the journal these people were traitors, and should be dealt with as such.

Left-wing or Democratic politicians were another group of individuals whom the Pink Sheet watched intently. Senators

George McGovern and Edward Kennedy were the most mentioned politicians, followed by Representative Ronald Dellums, and Bella Abzug, as well as former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. These five accounted for nearly half of the left-wing and Democratic politicians whom the Pink Sheet mentioned during its first years. (See table 4)

Senator Kennedy, a front runner for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, was certainly of major concern to the newsletter. The journal for the most part ignored Kennedy's political positions. The Pink Sheet did not probe the issues with any analysis, or thoughtful examination. The fact that Kennedy was a liberal Democrat, especially one who had been involved in affairs such as Chappaquiddick was enough for the Pink Sheet. (In 1969 at Chappaquiddick near Kennedy's home on Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, he drove his car into a pond. He did not immediately report the accident, and the body of Mary Jo Kopechne was found in the car.) The journal used Chappaquiddick to create an image of Kennedy as dishonest and untrustworthy.

The journal also criticized Kennedy for his stance on amnesty. For the Pink Sheet amnesty was an attempt to "sell-out...millions of Americans who loyally served their country in Vietnam."[45] The newsletter also linked Kennedy directly to radical politics merely for Kennedy's support of Cesar Chavez. Chavez's United Farm Workers Union boycott, according to the Pink Sheet, was successful "because the American Left backed" Chavez and his activities. Luce viewed this as additional proof that

Kennedy supported liberal and radical causes. The journal described Kennedy as one who would as President be "much more skillful at pointing fingers at those allegedly failing their responsibilities than living up to his own."[46]

Table 4 -- Left-wing and Democratic Politicians

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1971-75	PERCENTAGE OF ISSUES
LEFT POLITICIANS TOTAL	339	100%
EDWARD KENNEDY	38	32%
GEORGE McGOVERN	38	32%
RONALD DELLUMS	32	27%
BELLA ABZUG	25	21%
RAMSEY CLARK	24	20%
(119 issues)		

It was easier for the Pink Sheet to tie McGovern to left-wing radical groups. The Pink Sheet had connected his 1972 campaign to the Progressive Labor party, SDS, and the American Communist party. McGovern had attended an event to honor "black revolutionary" Julius Hobson. The journal noted that several communist front organizations had sponsored the evening, and many known communists had attended. Because of McGovern's apparent support for Hobson, the Pink Sheet expressed its "hope that McGovern's only chance for getting into the White House is as a tourist."[47]

When Gary Hart -- one time aide to Senator McGovern -- decided to run for a U.S. Senate seat in Colorado, the mere fact of his association with McGovern was enough for the Pink Sheet to label him as "dangerous." Thus a layering effect took place. For the Pink Sheet if a person was connected in any way to an individual or organization that it thought was sympathetic to communism that was enough to prove that they too must be of that persuasion.[48]

The Pink Sheet listed Representative Ronald Dellums from California as one of the "Ten Radicals to Watch During 1973." The journal described him as "a big gun for the revolutionary left" because of his association "with the Trotskyite National Peace Action Coalition,...the United Front Against Fascism and the Hanoi-sponsored Peoples Peace Treaty." The Pink Sheet was alarmed when Dellums became a member of the House Armed Services Committee: "Is this the kind of man we want having access to top-secret military documents which could affect the safety of our country?" The newsletter quoted Dellums, "If our domestic Communists do not break the laws, they are as free as any other American citizen to make their case. We have no right to repress them." The publication provided no source for this quotation but this was confirmation for the newsletter that indeed communists had infiltrated the government at all levels. For the newsletter this showed that people like Dellums "would make a democracy defenseless against its totalitarian enemies."[49]

Conservative and Republican politicians who were listed in the journal's index had a mention rating of 46 percent. The Pink

Sheet only dealt with Republicans in the context of elections. Rarely did the publication scrutinize their policies. President Richard Nixon and Representative John Ashbrook of Ohio accounted for half of the conservative politicians mentioned in the Pink Sheet. (See table 5) The Pink Sheet generally supported Nixon, although it criticized some of the President's policies on foreign affairs. The publication saw Nixon's efforts to open a dialogue with China as dangerous. Luce feared that this would open the "door for increased Communist espionage in this country." The newsletter urged the president to "reconsider his new policy toward Red China." When Nixon appointed Henry Kissinger Secretary of State the Pink Sheet was very critical. It felt that Kissinger's policies were based upon "dangerous assumptions. There's too much evidence that the communists are still committed to the Marxist-Leninist concept of world conquest." [50]

When the Watergate scandal broke, the Pink Sheet did not defend the administration. The newsletter did, however, attack the U.S. Senate Watergate Committee and particularly the committee's chair, North Carolina Democrat Sam Ervin. The journal accused Ervin of having permitted persons with suspect backgrounds to work as staffers for the committee.[51] Though the Watergate affair received little attention in the Pink Sheet, a newsletter poll released on September 17, 1973, revealed that its readers supported the president. When asked if the president should release the tapes which the Senate committee and the Watergate Special Prosecutor requested, over 76 percent responded

"no." Most of those polled were optimistic about the effect that Watergate would have on Nixon's second administration. Over 65 percent agreed that the scandal would have "no significant change...[upon] Nixon's policies." In that same poll the journal asked its readers if they thought Vice-President Sprio Agnew was guilty of the allegations against him; almost 80 percent said "no." One of the questions asked who the readers would support for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976. Ronald Reagan received the most votes, just edging out Agnew, with Connally and Rockefeller far behind. Agnew's resignation along with Nixon's, and Gerald Ford's succession to the presidency dramatically changed the race for the 1976 Republican nomination. In subsequent Pink Sheet polls Reagan received the most votes, with peak support in a October 1976 poll of 85 percent. Ford's highest support was 28 percent in 1974, but it fell to 15 percent at the time of the election. The Pink Sheet reader's endorsement of Reagan was a glimpse into kind of support he received from the Right during the presidential campaign in 1980.[52]
(See appendix A)

When Nixon resigned, the Pink Sheet welcomed Ford as the new president and hoped that he would "operate as a basically conservative chief executive." The Pink Sheet expressed its desire that the Ford administration would "not only correct the 'Watergate' abuses of the previous Administration, but also... reverse some of the liberal policies and programs enacted...." The Pink Sheet praised Nixon for having brought "some balance back to the federal government," mostly in the area of the

Supreme Court. Yet the publication criticized Nixon for not controlling the federal bureaucracy, the budget deficit, and inflation. In the area of foreign policy the journal viewed Nixon's policies as "extremely dangerous to the U.S. in the long run. The left-wing politicians hated NIXON. The liberal press hated NIXON. Radical activists hated NIXON. Alger Hiss hated NIXON. In sum, NIXON can't be all bad!" A majority of Pink Sheet readers supported immunity from prosecution for Nixon, though the poll also showed that nearly 20 percent were against it.[53]

Table 5 -- Republican Politicians

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1971-75	PERCENTAGE OF ISSUES
REPUBLICAN POLITICIANS TOTAL	55	46%
RICHARD NIXON	19	16%
JOHN ASHBROOK	8	7%
JESSE HELMS	3	3%
RONALD REAGAN	3	3%
(119 issues)		

The Ford administration received little praise from the Pink Sheet other than for Nixon's pardon. The journal denounced President Ford when he granted clemency to draft dodgers and deserters. But to the Pink Sheet, Ford's ouster of Secretary of

Defense James R. Schlesinger was the last straw. The journal began openly to support the candidacy of Ronald Reagan for the 1976 Republican nomination. It urged the readers to encourage Reagan to enter the race. The newsletter saw Reagan as a strong "conservative and anti-communist." Luce felt that Reagan's "broad appeal" would make him a "stronger candidate...and a stronger President" than Ford.[54]

Another favorite conservative of the Pink Sheet was John Ashbrook from Ohio. He was a key member of the House Committee on Internal Security. The survival of that committee was very important to the Pink Sheet. For the journal the committee was one of the last lines of defense against communist infiltration and subversion in the United States.[55]

The main agenda of the Pink Sheet was to uncover politically left candidates and individuals who associated with communists or socialists. What the publication promoted was not readily apparent. It certainly supported conservative politicians over Democrats. But only a few articles dealt with domestic issues such as inflation, government spending, and welfare. Though adamantly anti-communist, the Pink Sheet during its first five years seemed not to have a particular goal or purpose beyond the collection of information about the Left. There appeared to be no clear organizational backing, no specific legislative agenda, nor any long range goals.

Even without a clearly expressed agenda the journal's goals were easily recognized. The publication supported the existence of the various Congressional committees whose mission was to

study internal security matters. The publication wanted Anti-communist loyalty oaths to be required for federal employees, and it would give the FBI and the CIA the freedom to investigate, infiltrate, and disrupt allegedly subversive and politically objectionable organizations. For example, the Pink Sheet supported the FBI's surveillance program of mail to certain addresses. The agency recorded the information on the outside of envelopes. The journal viewed this program as a "valuable surveillance tool" -- a means by which a free society could "guard itself against its internal enemies...."[56]

In foreign affairs the Pink Sheet wanted to cease all trade with the Soviet Union and other communist and socialist countries. It wanted the military to be maintained at its highest levels. The Pink Sheet also wanted the U.S. government to support wars such as Korea and Vietnam on an all-out scale, and not tie them down politically. The publication thought that the U.S. must be prepared to defend freedom against communism any place in the world.

For the journal, anti-communist politicians should be in control of the government, and Republicans must persuade Democrats that liberalism was the next step toward communism, and was therefore treasonous. George Nash in his book, The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America, explained that Whittaker Chambers' book, Witness, provided for the Right a rationale that made secular liberalism a manifestation of the communist enemy. For the political right liberalism became a yardstick by which people were gauged. Thus, the debate within

political thought became not just a struggle over ideology, but a battle for the survival of the nation.[57] Chambers' book was an important contribution to the new conservative movement in America. It incorporated the conservative fear of communism, secular humanism, and liberalism into one body of political thought. The Pink Sheet reflected the traditional conservative theme of anti-communism and the paranoia of all things that were considered liberal. Thus the journal found its roots in the long history of anti-communism in the United States, as well as in the conservative intellectual movement that developed in the 1950s and early 60s.

The Pink Sheet used the tactic of piling on one fact or tidbit of information upon another, without any thorough analysis, to concoct a conspiracy against America. For the journal communism had infiltrated the United States and was corrupting society. Hofstadter identified that type of conspiracy theory as what he called the "Paranoid Style in American politics." The idea that huge conspiracy which used subtle tactics to influence and undermine the American way of life was certainly present in the pages of the Pink Sheet. Hofstadter noted that often paranoid literature "carefully and all but obsessively accumulates 'evidence.'"[58] The newsletter indeed compiled "fact" upon "fact" in order to "prove" that any group, or individual, the journal saw as a potential threat to America was certainly liberal, at the worst communist.

By the end of 1975 the Pink Sheet had apparently found a following that supported the idea of internal subversion from the

Left. The journal's circulation had risen to over 8,500 subscribers. (See Appendix B) The right-wing backlash toward the 1960s and the Vietnam war carried the newsletter through the 1970s. With the Watergate crisis and the resignation of Agnew -- he was convicted of tax evasion October 10, 1973, -- this presented the Right with new challenges. They had to find a way to keep the White House under Republican control, and shift Congress to the right politically. The political right also needed to find a new standard bearer for the cause. For the Pink Sheet that person was Ronald Reagan. As America celebrated its bicentennial in 1976, the Pink Sheet had much to accomplish. Jimmy Carter, former Democratic governor of Georgia, was a threat to win the presidency; and with the end of the Vietnam war the so-called communist infiltrated peace movement were on the decline. Thus the newsletter needed to set its sights on a new series of problems that "threatened" America. The new challenges were: a Democratic White House, continued vigilance against the liberal media, a sagging defense industry, and a foreign policy that was in much need of repair.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

[1]Phillip A. Luce, ed., The Pink Sheet on the New Left, (Washington D.C.: Horizon House Inc.), 5/28/71, 1:4.

[2]Ibid., 9/3/71, 8:1; There are many good works about the Sixties, among them: Todd Gitlin, The Sixties, Years of Hope, and Days of Rage (New York: Bantam Books, 1987); Charles Kaiser, 1968 In America: Music, Politics, Chaos, Counterculture, and the Shaping of a Generation (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988); A.J. Matusow, The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s (New York: Harper and Row, 1984).

[3]Pink Sheet, 11/1/71, 12:8; 11/15/71, 13:6; For a good recent work on the Civil Rights movement see, Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988).

[4]Pink Sheet, 11/15/71, 13:5.

[5]Ibid., 12/27/71, 16:3.

[6]Ibid., 7/24/72, 31:1-2.

[7]Ibid., 5/15/72, 26:3-4.

[8]Ibid., 9/4/72, 34:3-4.

[9]Ibid., 11/13/72, 39:1.

[10]Ibid., 7/23/71, 5:6.

[11]Ibid., 1/21/74, 70:4. For a recent work on the Rosenbergs see: Joseph H. Sharlitt, Fatal Error: The Miscarriage of Justice that Sealed the Rosenberg's Fate (New York: Scribner, 1989).

[12]Ibid., 8/6/71, 6:1-2.

[13]Ibid., 8/20/71, 7:1-2.

[14]Ibid., 4/3/72, 23:2; 10/16/72, 37:2-3; 9/3/73, 60:5.

[15]Ibid., 1/24/72, 18:4.

[16]Ibid., 11/27/72, 40:1-2.

[17]Ibid., 11/29/71, 14:1-2. There are many books that deal with the difficult issue of abortion, two are: Rosalind P. Potehesky, Abortion and Women's Choice: The State, Sexuality, and Reproductive Freedom (New York: Longman, 1984), Paul Sachdev, ed. Perspectives on Abortion (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1985).

[18]Pink Sheet, 11/29/71, 14:1-2.

[19]Ibid., 2/21/72, 20:1-2.

[20]Ibid., 7/10/72, 30:7.

[21]Ibid., 1/7/74, 69:1; 1/21/74, 70:5. The list of organizations that the Methodist Church gave financial support to was quite long. The Pink Sheet listed thirty-eight groups, among the more notable organizations were: the National Committee to Repeal the Draft, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Planned Parenthood, the National Council of Churches, Impact, the Task Force for Nuclear Test Ban, the World Council of Churches, and the American Bar Association.

[22]Ibid., 6/9/75, 106:4.

[23]Ibid., 4/28/75, 103:1-2; 7/21/75, 109:7.

[24]Ibid., 8/6/71, 6:3; 9/3/71, 8:1. For a treatment of communism in America see: Theodore Draper, The Roots of American Communism (New York: Viking Press, 1957).

[25]Pink Sheet, 12/27/71, 16:3.

[26]Ibid., 9/18/72, 35:1-2.

[27]Ibid., 10/30/72, 38:1.

[28]Ibid., 7/9/73, 56:7.

[29]Ibid., 1/8/73, 43:1; 1/22/73, 44:1; 3/5/73, 47:1; 4/30/73, 51:3.

[30]Ibid., 12/9/74, 93:1-2; 2/17/75, 98:1; 6/23/75, 107:1-2.

[31]Ibid., 3/4/74, 73:6; 5/12/75, 104:2.

[32]Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics, and other essays (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 31.

[33]Pink Sheet, 11/1/71, 12:4; 11/15/71, 13:6; 2/19/73, 46:1-2.

[34]Ibid., 9/18/ 72, 35:8; 10/30/72, 38:2.

[35]Ibid., 11/26/73, 66:4.

[36]Ibid., 7/21/72, 31:7; 2/4/74, 71:1.

[37]Ibid., 4/1/74, 75:5.

[38]Ibid., 12/27/71, 16:1-2.

[39]Ibid., 8/7/72, 32:2.

[40]Ibid., 4/17/72, 24:4. For an account of the Chicago Seven trial and William Kunstler see: Jason Epstein, The Great Conspiracy Trial; An Essay on Law, Liberty and the Constitution (New York: Random House, 1970).

[41]Pink Sheet, 11/7/73, 65:3-4.

[42]Ibid., 5/14/73, 52:4.

[43]Ibid., 7/24/72, 31:8.

[44]Ibid., 11/24/75, 118:2-3.

[45]Ibid., 5/1/72, 25:1.

[46]Ibid., 12/25/72, 42:2; 8/19/74, 85:5; 5/26/75, 105:2-3. For a work on Cesar Chavez see: Ronald B. Taylor, Chavez and the Farm Workers, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975).

[47]Pink Sheet, 8/21/72, 33:2; 10/16/72, 37:1.

[48]Ibid., 9/16/74, 87:2; 1/20/75, 96:4.

[49]Ibid., 5/1/72, 25:6; 3/5/73, 47:4; 3/3/75, 99:3.

[50]Ibid., 7/23/71, 5:6; 9/3/73, 60:1.

[51]Ibid., 8/6/73, 58:1.

[52]Ibid., 8/17/73, 61:1.

[53]Ibid., 8/19/74, 85:1-2; 9/16/74, 87:4. There are a great number of books that deal with the Watergate scandal, for an inside account see: John W. Dean, Blind Ambition: The White House Years (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976), and of course see: Carl Bernstein's and Bob Woodward's, All the President's Men (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974).

[54]Pink Sheet, 9/30/74, 88:1; 3/31/75, 101:2; 7/21/75, 109:1; 11/10/75, 117:1; 3/1/76, 125:6.

[55]Ibid., 7/24/72, 31:3; 9/4/72, 34:3-4; 7/23/73, 57:3-4.

[56]Ibid., 2/18/74, 72:4; 1/6/75, 95:2.

[57]George H. Nash, The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America: since 1945 (New York: Basic Books Inc.: 1976), 103-105, 107.

[58]Hofstadter, Paranoid Style, 29, 35-36.

CHAPTER III

The Pink Sheet from Carter to Reagan

The Pink Sheet during the last half of the 1970s would make a number of transitions. With the war in Vietnam over Americans tired of the disruptive 1960s, and turned toward a period that became known as the self-indulgent "me generation." The Pink Sheet also changed its direction, though not drastically. The journal was less paranoid over what individuals had done to subvert America than about what the United States (particularly its political right) could do to fight the communist threat. With Jimmy Carter in the White House the newsletter gained support for its anti-communist cause. The circulation increased rapidly, and peaked with over 14,000 subscribers in 1980. This growth in circulation reflected a number of factors. Certainly a Democratic president heightened the political Right's awareness of "liberal" federal policies, and motivated it to combat Carter's programs. The Pink Sheet was worried about Carter's defense and foreign policies. Although these topics were not new to the Pink Sheet the journal increased its focus in this area. The newsletter was particularly concerned with such issues as the ratification of the Panama Canal treaty, SALT II, and the Iranian Hostages. The journal also wanted the GOP to recapture the White House in 1980, with Ronald Reagan as president. The election of Reagan became a major goal for the Pink Sheet.

During the 1970s the Pink Sheet was one of many newsletters that developed on the political right. The

conservative movement of the 1950s had prepared an intellectual framework, out of which had grown Arizona Republican Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign. By the 1970s the new conservative right had matured into a cohesive political movement. Along with the Pink Sheet there were a number of conservative journals and newsletters that started in the 1970s. Richard Viguerie, the mailing-list guru, began the Conservative Digest. Some other titles included the Alternative, which became the American Spectator; the Chronicles of Culture; and the AIM report, which was published by Reed Irvine and his watchdog group, Accuracy in Media. The Pink Sheet was only a small part of a larger political movement.

As the political climate changed in America the journal struggled to adapt. In the early 1970s the Pink Sheet had been anxious about the activities of the political left on college campuses. As that generation of students, which had protested the war, graduated from universities and colleges, campuses became quieter. The journal therefore decreased its coverage in that area. Between 1976 and 1980, the mention rating in the Pink Sheet of university activities fell from 70 to only 15 percent. Student organizations and activist groups, which had been a big part of the journal's focus in the first half of the decade, fell to only a 44 percent mention rating. (See Table 6)

This continued, albeit diminished, as discussion of campus activities reflected a shift in issues. During the 1970s the question of American corporate financial investment in South Africa became a controversial subject on campuses around the

country. Students pressured university officials to dispose of the institutions' financial holdings with companies that had business interests in South Africa. The Pink Sheet revealed the activities on such campuses as Stanford, Hampshire College, Ohio State, Columbia, Harvard, and Tufts. The journal supported South Africa because of that nation's anti-communist policies, and the newsletter was disturbed that universities would divest their holdings in South Africa but not do the same with communist countries. It considered this a contradiction, and a double standard. Luce contacted several universities, and inquired why they had not considered selling their stock in companies that did business with communist countries. The publication concluded that the schools had "acted not out of principle, but simply in response to left-wing pressure." Luce called on the journal's readers to protest such "moral hypocrisy."[1]

Table 6 -- Universities / Activist Organizations

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1976-80	PERCENTAGE ISSUES
UNIVERSITIES	22	15%
STUDENT AND ACTIVIST ORGANIZATIONS	63	44%
(Total issues, 142)		

During the last half of the decade the two student or activist organizations that the Pink Sheet had previously

scrutinized, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Weather Underground, were no longer considered a serious threat. Certainly the decreased coverage of the SDS was due to the collapse of that organization. When the Pink Sheet did mention the SDS it was only in reference to the activities of former members.

Table 7 -- Student / Activist organizations

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1976-80	PERCENTAGE OF ISSUES
SDS	6	4%
WEATHER UNDERGROUND	19	13%
(Total issues, 142)		

The journal continually scrutinized the Weather Underground throughout the decade to demonstrate that subversive groups were indeed still active in the United States, despite the decline of activism on college campuses. During America's bicentennial celebration, the Pink Sheet worried that various organizations planned violent demonstrations in Philadelphia, and around the country. It reported that the "July 4 Coalition" was trying to coordinate the protests of a number of radical groups. The newsletter listed groups that would take part in the demonstrations: the "Communist Party USA; the American Indian Movement, a pro-communist group; the National Lawyers Guild [which the Pink Sheet had labeled as a front group]; the

Socialist Workers Party, which adhered to Leon Trotsky's brand of communism; and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, the 'public' representative of the terrorist Weather Underground."[2]

The Pink Sheet closely watched the 1976 presidential election campaign. The journal endorsed former California governor Ronald Reagan for the Republican nomination; when the party chose incumbent Gerald Ford, the newsletter was disappointed. The publication saw little difference between Carter and Ford. It also was worried about the direction Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had taken with Ford's foreign policy. Luce questioned Kissinger's policies which warmed relations with China, and the Soviet Union. Luce stated: "I am convinced that as long as Kissinger guides our foreign policy, America's position in the world will continue to weaken." He was very upset at Ford's willingness to keep Kissinger as Secretary of State. Luce urged his readers to demand that President Ford appoint a new Secretary.[3]

The newsletter paid little attention to Jimmy Carter before the presidential primaries. But on March 29, 1976, the Pink Sheet scrutinized Carter's record in order to decipher his political posture. The journal questioned the news media's portrait of Carter as "conservative" or "moderate." Luce concluded that Carter was "neither 'left' nor 'right.'" The journal vowed to "do its best to expose JIMMY CARTER's attempts to cover-up his sell-out to the Left." Because the President elect had named Walter Mondale -- whom the newsletter labeled as "a far-left U.S. Senator" -- for his running mate the publication

viewed this as a signal that Carter was "solidifying his ties with Democratic leftists."[4]

On October 11, 1976, the Pink Sheet reported the results of a readers' preference poll on Ford and Carter. Of those who responded 70 percent favored Ford while only 3 percent supported Carter. The poll also revealed that 27 percent refused to vote for either candidate. The journal stated that these disgruntled voters "still preferred REAGAN." For Luce this was an indication "that if FORD does not pursue a staunchly conservative course for the rest of his campaign, it's likely that many conservative, anti-communist voters across the country will 'sit out' the election -- with potentially disastrous results to Ford."[5] Given that the 1976 election was fairly close, Luce's analysis could have been correct.

The Pink Sheet was hopeful that Carter might be moderate on some positions, and nominate firm anti-communists to key posts. However, the journal became very concerned when the new president's selections were announced. Luce stated: "With each passing day it's clearer we must increase our own efforts if we are to counter the leftward push that is going to come from the CARTER Administration." With the nomination of Cyrus Vance as Secretary of State, Harold Brown as Secretary of Defense, and Paul Warnke as the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and its chief negotiator with the Soviets, the journal feared that America's defenses would be scuttled. This would lead to "more inflation and big government at home; continued concessions and a weak foreign policy abroad." The Pink Sheet

also tied many of Carter's appointments to "ultra-liberal" George McGovern, and to the Democratic administrations of the 1960s.[6]

The Pink Sheet believed that the Carter Administration and Congress were "determined to cripple American internal security watchdogs," such as the House Internal Security Subcommittee, despite the "evidence of ultra-left-wing political growth" in America. Luce was dismayed that the Justice department under the Carter administration had indicted several FBI agents for wiretapping the Weather Underground in the early 1970s. The journal accused "liberal politicians and their media allies [for creating] a 'new morality' in intelligence investigations." It was distressed that this "new morality" would "devastate FBI morale, already hurt by a climate that appears to give terrorists more rights than their victims."[7]

Many people on the political right were concerned about the apparent trend in which criminals appeared to be awarded more rights than the victims of crime. The Supreme Court since Miranda v. Arizona (1966), according to the Right, had made it more difficult for law enforcement officials to conduct surveillance, question suspects, search for evidence, and make arrests. Luce was afraid that: "much stricter standards [were being enforced] than existed a few years ago."[8]

With the end of the Vietnam War the Pink Sheet decreased its coverage of antiwar organizations. In the early 70s the journal discussed antiwar groups in every issue, during the Carter administration it did so only 30 percent of the time. But the journal use these groups to discredit people and organizations

that supported decreased defense spending, the end of the draft, and aid to Vietnam. On August 29, 1977, the Pink Sheet reported that White House officials had met with members of the communist-backed Women's Strike for Peace, after a demonstration in Washington D.C. The journal stated that the House Un-American Activities Committee had identified that group "as Communist dominated." The newsletter was appalled that the Carter administration had sent a representative to the national convention of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a group that "supported Moscow fronts like the World Peace Council and World Assembly for Peace,...cited by Congressional committees as Communist influenced and dominated."[9]

On October 22, 1979, the journal informed its readers that First Lady Rosalynn Carter had met with "far-leftists," U.S. Representative Bella Abzug and author of baby books, Dr. Benjamin Spock. The meeting took place after Abzug and Spock had participated in an anti-defense demonstration near the White House. Because the protest was sponsored by the Women's Strike for Peace -- which had allegedly been involved with communist front groups -- this "proved" that the Carter administration was not concerned about such groups. The Pink Sheet stated: "There was a time when the government warned of the dangers such groups posed to America. It's a sad state of affairs when instead they're invited to the White House."[10]

When the World Peace Council held a "National Convention on Nicaragua," the Pink Sheet reported that a number of senators and representatives had sponsored the event. The journal wondered

why these congressional leaders would join a group that had been "identified by the House Internal Security Committee as a 'primary international communist peace front which is controlled by the Soviet Union.'" The list of sponsors included: Senators Edward Kennedy (D-MA), Mark Hatfield (R-OR), and Representatives Tom Harkin (D-IA), Ronald Dellums (D-CA), and Walter Fauntroy (D-DC). The journal questioned the motives of those in Congress who supported a group with "pro-marxist" connections. "It's deplorable that any elected representative would lend his name to this event." Using these alleged connections the journal attempted to discredit the Carter administration, and various congressional leaders. The Pink Sheet, worried that subversive groups were still quite active in the United States; thus the reestablishment of a congressional internal security committee was necessary. The journal supported House resolution 48, which proposed the creation of such a committee. Luce suggested that the readers urge their Congressmen to back the bill.[11]

When the Pink Sheet learned that Andrew Young, then the American Ambassador to the United Nations, was co-chairman of SANE (an anti-nuclear and anti-defense organization) it called for Young's ouster. The newsletter could not understand how President Carter could "present himself as serious about his defense proposals when his own Ambassador to the U.N. lends his name to an organization" that claimed the U.S. spent too much on defense.[12]

After the Vietnam war was over, peace organizations altered their focus toward defense related issues. The Pink Sheet noted

this transition and continued its battle against these groups in this new arena. To do so it used alleged communist connections against the members of these anti-defense groups in order to discredit them and the organization. With these "facts" the newsletter also accused the Carter administration of aiding groups with communist ties. Thus the newsletter increased its scrutiny of defense-related matters.

The Pink Sheet, because of Carter's apparent weak stance toward the Soviets, increased its coverage of defense related issues. For a hard-line anti-communist newsletter the shift of focus from domestic internal subversion to foreign affairs was a natural progression. Defense issues during the publication's first five years were addressed in 48 out of 119 issues, while during the latter half of the decade the Pink Sheet mentioned defense related topics over 200 times in 142 issues. Foreign countries were mentioned over 290 times; seven countries accounted for over 70 percent of the over thirty countries that the journal mentioned in the later half of the 1970s. (See table 8)

The Pink Sheet's shift of focus to foreign affairs paralleled the New Right's distress over such issues as: the Panama Canal treaty, the SALT II treaty, the Iran Hostage crisis, the 1980 Moscow Olympics, and the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua. The journal, like the New Right, sought the election of conservatives to Congress in 1978, and the election of Ronald Reagan to the White House in 1980.

The controversy over the Panama Canal treaty in many ways

brought the New Right together. The Carter Administration wanted improve relations with Central America. The administration felt that the completion of a treaty with Panama might suggest that the United States intended to decrease its control and influence in the region. Historically Central and South America feared the "colossus of the North." Therefore, if the U.S. turned over control of the canal to the Panamanians it could be seen as a good faith effort to improve relations in the area.

Table 8 -- Foreign Countries

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1976-80	PERCENTAGE OF ISSUES
VIETNAM	53	37%
SOVIET UNION	37	26%
CHINA	30	21%
CUBA	29	20%
NICARAGUA	20	14%
AFGHANISTAN	19	13%
PANAMA	19	13%
RHODESIA/ ZIMBABWE	14	10%
TAIWAN	13	9%
IRAN	10	7%
LIBYA	10	7%

(142 total issues)

But the Right did not agree. They saw the canal as United

States property, and would no more consider turning it over to Panama than they would returning parts of the American southwest to Mexico. It soon became an issue that Republican candidates used against Democrats, and it also provided a forum for Ronald Reagan as a leader of the Republican effort to defeat the treaty.

Richard Viguerie, the New Right leader and former owner of the Pink Sheet, called 1978 "Our Critical Year." The leaders of the New Right had independently created various single-issue lobby organizations which had come together to fight the ratification of the Panama Canal treaty. Terry Dolan's National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) sent almost half a million letters on behalf of the anti-treaty effort. The Conservative Caucus, which Howard Phillips founded, mailed three million letters and held several rallies to protest the treaty. The American Security Council, which rated senators and representatives on defense-related issues, sent an additional two million letters; and the American Conservative Union (ACU) produced a half-hour TV show on the Panama Canal, raised $1 million, and also mailed two million letters. The Republican National Committee wrote a letter, which Reagan signed, that helped raise money to combat the treaty, and to fund Republican candidate elections in 1978 and 1980. The letter raised over $700,000, and created an additional half million names for the party's mailing list. The letters wanted people to urge their representatives in Congress to vote against the treaty. The battle over the Panama Canal treaty enlisted thousands of new voters for the Republican cause. With the money raised to defeat

the treaty, the New Right coalition went on to target pro-treaty, incumbent Democrats in the 1978 congressional elections. Though the New Right failed to defeat the treaty, its efforts assembled a powerful lobby force for the movement in Washington D.C. This in turn, had a tremendous influence on American politics during the 1978 and 1980 elections. According to William Rusher, publisher for the National Review and a leading conservative, this was critical for Reagan's campaign in 1980.[13] The vast number of new political activists on the right created a foundation for Reagan's campaign.

In January 1977, the Pink Sheet urged its readers to write their senators to oppose the treaty. Luce said: "You should write...to tell them the U.S. should not yield one inch in its rightful control of the vital Panama Canal." On August 29, Luce reported that a symposium which he had attended -- sponsored by the Council for Inter-American Security -- concluded that the U.S. should not give up the Canal. Luce wrote: "If we relinquish the Panama Canal, it will be one more sign to the Communists and the nations they seek to influence that the U.S. is a paper tiger." The newsletter, convinced that the Carter administration was misleading the American public, opposed the treaty for a number of reasons: 1) "Panama did not have a legal claim to the Canal," because the 1903 treaty had "granted the U.S. control of the Canal Zone 'in perpetuity.'" 2) The Canal was "vital to the U.S. economically and militarily," and "has been vital in every war the U.S. has fought.... All but a handful of American navy vessels can use it." 3) "To give Panama control of this vital

channel would be to give it to a left-wing dictator, Omar Torrijos, who has openly expressed...admiration for...Communist Cuba." The journal did not want the U.S. to give away what it considered U.S. property, as "America simply can't afford to lose the Canal."[14]

From January 1977 to March 1978, the Pink Sheet devoted about a third of its issues to the Panama Canal controversy. On March 27, 1978, after the Senate ratified the treaty, the newsletter listed the senators who had voted for it on the "Roll of Shame." Luce urged the readers to write their senators, if they had voted for the treaty, and "Let him know you're appalled by his vote...." The Pink Sheet was particularly critical of Senator Howard Baker (R-TN). The journal quoted a Washington Post article stating that Baker provided the key vote for the Carter administration. Luce wrote that he intended "to remember Baker's role when 1980" arrived. He did not think that Republicans wanted "a nominee (for president) who lined up with Jimmy Carter, `the Senate establishment, and the liberal-to-moderate Washington mainstream.'" This was a bitter defeat for the Pink Sheet. Luce stated, "In the long run, I think those who voted for the treaties will find that they -- not those who voted no -- are the losers."[15] Many Republicans were fed up with apparent damage the Carter administration had done to America's military strength. The Right wanted to use this issue to confront the administration, and portray Democrats as somehow unpatriotic because they had given away U.S. territory, and weakened the nation's position in the world.

On October 23, 1978, the Pink Sheet reported the results of a poll showing that 70 percent of its readers were of the opinion that the "decline of American military power was the single most important foreign policy issue" for the 1978 congressional elections. Thus when the Carter administration attempted to negotiate with the Soviets on the SALT II (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) agreements, the Pink Sheet entitled an article: "SALT NEXT LIKELY CARTER GIVEAWAY." Luce feared that the treaty "could leave the U.S. a helpless giant unable to mount a credible threat to Soviet expansion even if the Carter administration had the nerve to try." With 94 percent of Pink Sheet readers opposed to SALT II, the journal felt that the treaty limited the "United States in its ability to defend itself while giving the Soviet Union even more opportunity to pull ahead of us militarily."[16] Though SALT II did not produce the intense bitterness of the Panama Canal debate, it provided the journal with further evidence that the Carter Administration was "soft on communism," and a threat to weaken America's military forces beyond repair.

Two years before the Soviets invaded Afghanistan the Pink Sheet criticized the fact that 1980 Olympics were going to be held in Moscow. The journal was angry that NBC was prepared to pay the Soviets over $22.4 million for the rights to broadcast the Olympic games. It worried that the Soviet Union would use the games as a propaganda tool. The Pink Sheet also kept track of companies that planned to advertise during the Olympics. Luce stated: "In all, the Olympics should prove a great source of cash

as well as propaganda for the Soviets, courtesy of short-sighted American companies."[17]

When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, support for an American Olympic boycott swept the country. The Pink Sheet agreed. But the journal wanted the games moved out of the Soviet Union. Luce urged his readers to write their representative and the White House to "make sure Leonid Brezhnev and his cabal don't profit from the 1980 Olympics." When the United States decided to boycott the games the newsletter quietly supported the decision, but had little praise for the Carter administration. When the games began, the journal relished the fact that the Soviets had a much smaller tourist turn-out than expected. The newsletter also scoffed at the USSR's "cosmetic attempts to camouflage [the] grubby Soviet life...."[18]

The Pink Sheet, since its inception, had been concerned with American firms that traded with communist countries. With detente in the early 1970s during the Nixon administration, the opening of China, the Carter administration's initial relaxed attitude toward the Soviets, and the Olympics, there was an increased opportunity for U.S. companies to trade behind the "Iron Curtain." The newsletter recognized this trend, and increased its coverage of the issue to combat it. In fact the journal mentioned corporate trade with communist nations about a hundred times, for a mention rating of nearly 70 percent during the last half of the decade, an increase of almost 40 percent over the previous five years. The Pink Sheet was not disturbed with big business's influence on America like many right-wing

groups, but was solely concerned with communist trade. A favorite target of the journal was the Control Data Corporation. On March 1, 1976, the newsletter reproduced a letter a Pink Sheet subscriber had received from the chair of the board, William C. Norris. Norris defended the firm's intention to sell computers to the Soviets, and to China. He pointed out that U.S. law did not prohibit such action. The chair defended his actions because it was "official policy of the United States government to trade with the Soviet Union and China." Norris also stated that if this country determined that the equipment would not "enhance their [the Soviet Union's] military capabilities significantly," then such a sale should not be viewed as objectionable. The Pink Sheet vehemently disagreed with Norris. The journal did not want the Soviets to benefit from American technology, and Luce was not convinced that the equipment would be used for peaceful purposes. Luce concluded that even though it was U.S. policy to trade with the Soviets -- a policy he disagreed with -- he felt that every "patriotic businessman must make his own determination as to whether U.S. interests are served by selling to our enemies. It will not do to abdicate this responsibility to an Administration blinded by the illusion of detente."[19]

The newsletter also targeted General Electric (GE). On December 5, 1977, the journal reported that GE wanted to sell jet engines to the Soviets. Luce was troubled that GE's "engine could be used by the Soviets in developing a new generation of manned bombers...." It was ironic that the Pink Sheet would pick on GE. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Ronald Reagan had been

the company's spokesman. GE sent him around the country as the company's goodwill ambassador. He would travel from one GE plant to another, speaking before service clubs. His speeches promoted "good old American values." Reagan spoke in apocalyptic terms, that an invisible plot threatened America. He suggested that it was business leaders, such as those at GE, who were holding the line against communism. By the late 1970s, the Pink Sheet was inclined to disagree that big business was by nature anti-communist.[20]

On February 13, 1978, the Pink Sheet increased its efforts to "stop strategic trade with Communist nations." The newsletter owned one share of stock in IBM, Control Data, and General Electric. As a stockholder it received annual reports and information from the companies. As Luce pointed out: "It will also give me a stockholder's voice...at company annual meetings." Luce hoped that this would "provide an additional way for us to keep the pressure on...corporations who want to sell our technology to Communist nations."[21] The Pink Sheet as a stockholder introduced a resolution aimed at prohibiting the companies from doing business with any communist nations. Luce realized that his resolution would be defeated, but he stated: "It is long past time that anti-communists took the offensive!" He hoped that by becoming actively involved in these companies he could "make some corporate officials think twice about new deals with the communists." Luce urged readers to join his effort.[22]

The Pink Sheet supported the regime of General Anastasio Samoza in Nicaragua because of its anti-communist stance. The

journal criticized the Carter administration for its policy of economic aid to the Sandinistas, a leftist movement intent on taking over the reins of government from Samoza. Luce wondered why Carter would support a Marxist takeover of Nicaragua, "while American allies are given the cold shoulder." After the Sandinistas took power in July 1979, the journal was dismayed that Congress had passed an aid package for the new government, even though the Soviets, Cuba, and the Marxist regime in Managua had a "plan to communize first Central America and then all of Latin America." Luce urged readers to write Congress in protest. He wanted a policy "to offset this very immediate and growing danger" -- and he criticized the administration for being "petrified and unable to cope with...the extent of the international Soviet plans."[23]

On December 5, 1977, the Pink Sheet reported on the activities of the Iranian Student Association (ISA), which had conducted demonstrations against U.S. involvement in Iran in Washington D.C. The newsletter noticed that the national media had essentially ignored the fact that the ISA was connected with Maoist Revolutionary Union. Luce wrote that this "was another instance of the media failing to recognize the threat from the left." A year later he reported that the Soviets had given financial support to the anti-U.S. and anti-Shah groups in Iran. The Pink Sheet wondered why the Carter administration appeared to have "little concern" for events that had taken place in that country. If the Soviets took control of Iran's oil production the "U.S. could be subject to economic blackmail."[24]

The Pink Sheet like many in the U.S. failed to notice the threat to Americans in Iran; but the journal had reported on the brutally oppressive regime of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. The newsletter also noted that the U.S. intelligence community and the media had not understood the threat that the anti-Shah forces, led by the Ayatollah Khomeini, presented the Shah of Iran. When on November 4, 1979, Iranian militants captured the U.S. Embassy and sixty-two American hostages were seized, the journal blamed the Carter administration for the incident. The publication felt that the decline of American military power had created the perception that U.S. was weak. Luce stated: "The Iranian extremists saw the United States as a country that could be pushed around, and they proceeded to do just that." As the hostage crisis dragged on, the journal accused the administration of "procrastination...[which] has reduced our standing with key allies" in the region. The Pink Sheet called for the formation of "a coalition of our Mideast allies to prevent an eventual Soviet takeover of the whole Mideast."[25]

The journal reveled in the fact that the Carter administration had been damaged because of its inability to act during the hostage crisis. On January 28, 1980, the newsletter reported that Republican presidential candidate John Connelly had received information that the "Iranian Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh may be a Soviet KGB intelligence agent." Though the journal acknowledged that this information was not first hand, it was "proof" enough that Ghotbzadeh was "at least serving Soviet interests by keeping the American hostages." Six months later

the journal discovered "proof" of Soviet involvement in Iran. The newsletter quoted former intelligence chief Major General George Keegan (USAF-ret.) who stated: "the 'student' captors involved in the November 4 takeover were trained by Soviet and East German agents...." Keegan had also asserted that the Soviets had placed "$150 million in gold into Swiss bank accounts in exchange for Iranian currency. Keegan says the purpose of this transfer 'was to fund and pay the salaries of 11,000 Communists who were the revolutionary leaders...for Khomeini.'" The Pink Sheet wondered why the Carter administration, and the media, had not revealed this information. Luce urged his readers to write Congress, and insist that an investigation "fully probe the Carter Administration's handling of the Iranian situation...."[26] For the Pink Sheet the Carter administration's "apparent incompetence" demonstrated a dire need for a change in the White House. Therefore, the journal increased its efforts to ensure a Republican victory in November 1980.

During the latter half of the decade the Pink Sheet portrayed the Carter Administration as weak and incompetent; and Carter as a president who threatened to dismantle America's security system at home and abroad. For example, the newsletter was concerned about the administration's policy that terminated the Justice Department's investigation of the communist U.S. Labor party. Also, the journal was disturbed that Carter had "ended the requirement that federal workers indicate whether they have ever been members of communist or fascist organizations...." The Pink Sheet supported the creation of a congressional internal

security committee. Luce stated that the "Pink Sheet will do what it can to bridge the gap," until a committee was put in place. On November 21, 1977, the journal reported that the administration had, according to the General Accounting Office, dropped over 9,000 cases which involved domestic intelligence issues, and had decreased the number of agents from 788 to 143. Luce reported that Congressmen Larry McDonald (D-GA) and John Ashbrook (R-OH) had sponsored a bill that proposed to establish a congressional internal security committee. He urged the readers of the newsletter to write the Speaker of the House, Tip O'Neil, in order to persuade him to place House Resolution 48 on the floor for a vote.[27]

The Pink Sheet was disappointed with the administration's policy toward Africa. The journal worried that Carter's refusal to back the pro-Western forces in Ethiopia and Somalia would "give Russia a crucial strategic position in dominating the entrance to the Red Sea, and influencing the oil-rich Mideast." Similarly the journal wanted the administration to take action in Angola and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), to prevent communist-backed governments from gaining power. The newsletter feared that the president's policies had made the U.S. a "paper tiger."[28]

On August 28, 1978, the newsletter portrayed Carter as being left of George McGovern politically. McGovern had "suggested...that the U.S. should consider setting up an international military force to 'knock' the Communist government of Cambodia 'out of power.'" Luce approved the Senator's plan: "When George McGovern sounds more conservative than the Carter

Administration, you know we're in trouble." The Pink Sheet polled its readers from October 1977 to April 1979, asking how liberal they viewed Jimmy Carter. The poll revealed that 90 percent of the readers considered Carter either "liberal" or "very liberal." The same poll also asked the readers to rate Carter's performance on foreign policy, defense issues, and the economy. Again, 80 to 90 percent of the readers viewed the president's performance as "bad" or "very bad."[29]

The Pink Sheet joined the New Right's effort in 1978 to promote conservative candidates. On February 27, 1978, the journal started a series of articles entitled, "Campaign '78." It reported initially on congressional races in fourteen states around the country and targeted liberal Republican John Anderson of Illinois for defeat. The newsletter in that race supported Don Lyon, a minister for the Open Bible Church, who "could be counted on to work with...conservative movement groups in Washington." On April 10, 1978, the journal focused on the senate race in New Jersey. The New Right wanted to unseat Republican Clifford Case, whom the journal reported had an American Conservative Union rating of 3 percent, extremely low for a Republican. Luce said, "These liberal mavericks prevent the GOP from being a clear-cut conservative anti-communist alternative to the liberal-dominated Democrats." He urged his readers to support Jeff Bell, a former Reagan strategist, in the Republican primary.[30]

In Kansas, the journal wanted to defeat Martha Keys, who had been McGovern's campaign manager in the state during the 1972

presidential election. The newsletter supported Jim Jeffries' effort to oust Keys. Once again the Pink Sheet used McGovern to discredit a candidate. On July 31, 1978, the newsletter interviewed Larry McDonald (D-GA). Though a Democrat, McDonald was a Pink Sheet favorite. The journal supported his bill to revive the House Internal Security Committee. The Pink Sheet also supported North Carolina Republican, Jesse Helms, who was reportedly on President Carter's "Enemies List for his (Helms) leadership in opposing the Panama Canal treaties...." Luce wrote, "I don't think the U.S. Senate can afford to be without Jesse Helms and the 100% correct voting record the American Conservative Union says he achieved."[31]

On July 3, 1978, the Pink Sheet printed the American Security Council's index of how all the senators and representatives in Congress voted on various defense issues. That three-page spread listed every congressional leader's vote on such issues as: aid to Rhodesia, Vietnam, Cuba and South Korea; President Carter's Vietnam amnesty program; the Neutron bomb and the B-1 Bomber; the House Internal Security committee; and the Panama Canal treaty. The newsletter also listed the names and addresses of nearly 30 anti-communist "conservative and patriotic organizations."[32]

On November 20, 1978, the Pink Sheet exclaimed: "Conservatives, Anti-communists, win big in fall elections." Luce was indeed correct. The New Right defeated six Senators who had voted for the Panama Canal treaty. The journal reported that the Republicans gained six governorships, and won the control of

fifteen state legislatures. The candidates that the publication supported won in two out of three elections; thus Luce claimed success, and looked optimistically toward 1980.[33]

Thus encouraged, the Pink Sheet continued its attack on the Carter administration. In December 1978 the administration severed diplomatic ties with Taiwan, and formally recognized the People's Republic of China. The journal called the administration's move "immoral, illegal, and incredible." Luce felt that Carter had sold-out the "18 million Free Chinese on Taiwan," and had completely given in to "the Communist tyrants on the Mainland...." According to Luce, President Carter had acted illegally because he had "unilaterally abrogated a treaty without consulting...the Senate."[34]

On March 12, 1979, the Pink Sheet published the results of its first presidential preference poll for the 1980 elections. As in 1976 Ronald Reagan was the favorite among those polled, conservative congressmen Phil Crane of Illinois was second, and John Connally was a distant third. The readership would continue to support Reagan throughout the election campaign. In the final poll Reagan received 54 percent of the vote, followed by Crane with 16 percent and George Bush with 11 percent.[35] Reagan's support from Pink Sheet readers was much stronger in 1976 than in 1980. This difference may have reflected the fact that in 1976 the reader's only options were between Reagan and Ford. Since Ford was a moderate Republican, the readers saw no alternative but to support the more conservative candidate, Reagan. In 1980 the reader's top two candidates were both conservatives, thus it

was more difficult to choose between them. But Reagan was still the more attractive candidate to the journal's readers. (See appendix A and C)

The journal, of course, wanted Jimmy Carter defeated in 1980, but the Pink Sheet was equally concerned with Edward Kennedy's chances of stealing the nomination from Carter. The journal followed Kennedy's activities very closely (a 37 percent mention rating). (See table 9) On August 13, 1979, the Pink Sheet published a twelve-page special issue focusing entirely on Kennedy and entitled: "The Shocking Record of Teddy Kennedy." The journal named him one of the "10 Leftists to Watch in 1979." Luce wanted to expose Kennedy's record, and to "make sure Teddy Kennedy does not become President. Both Kennedy's record in the U.S. Senate and his actions at Chappaquiddick must not be forgotten." (In 1969 at Chappaquiddick near Kennedy's home on Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, he drove his car into a pond. In the car the body of Mary Jo Kopechne was found. The incident was never fully explained, certainly to the satisfaction of Kennedy's opponents.) The issue was simply a reprint of thirty-four articles the journal had done on Kennedy in the past. It closed with a scathing description of the senator from Massachusetts:

> Kennedy's record of far-left activity, and his double standard of morality, point out what a disaster for America Teddy Kennedy would be as President. [The]...proceeding pages do not even discuss problems such as Kennedy's cheating in college and the ensuing scandal. Teddy Kennedy's actions at Chappaquiddick are right in character for this man -- who lusts after power -- both personally and politically. We must continue to oppose his candidacy. (36)

The journal's attack on Kennedy instigated a two year legal battle between the Pink Sheet, the Kennedy campaign, and the Federal Election Commission (FEC). On April 7, 1980, the committee to elect Kennedy filed a complaint with the FEC, in response to the journal's attack on the senator. The committee considered the Pink Sheet a political action committee (PAC). If it was, the newsletter would have come under the jurisdiction of the FEC. The journal responded: "Obviously Kennedy and his circle of advisors don't like having his true record presented to the American people. Their answer is to ignore the First Amendment and to try to use the federal government to intimidate us. But this heavy-handed attempt will not succeed."[37]

Table 9 -- Democratic Politicians

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1976-80	PERCENTAGE ISSUES
JIMMY CARTER	81	57%
EDWARD KENNEDY	53	37%
RONALD DELLUMS	31	22%
GEORGE MCGOVERN	30	21%
BELLA ABZUG	18	13%
(142 total issues)		

Because the Pink Sheet called for Kennedy's defeat, and had promoted Reagan, the FEC considered the journal a PAC. If the journal was indeed a PAC it would have to disclose its subscriber list, because the money from subscriptions would be considered a

donation to an election campaign. The newsletter described itself as a "news publication" that was protected by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution that guaranteed the freedom of the press. On July 28, 1980, the journal established the "Pink Sheet Legal Defense Fund," and appealed for contributions from the readers to help its legal battle.[38] In December the Pink Sheet filed suit against the FEC because the agency had not produced documents, pertaining to the case, that the journal had requested under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). The journal wanted to know how and why the FEC had decided to "go after the Pink Sheet," and if it had done so in a legal manner. The Reporter's Committee for Freedom of the Press supported the journal. Members of the committee included many notable journalists and broadcasters, such as Howard K. Smith, Walter Cronkite, and John Chancellor. The committee was concerned with, what it described as, the apparent "harassment of this small publisher."[39]

The journal received some attention from the media because of its battle with the FEC. On March 9, 1981, it proudly announced that news of its struggle had appeared in the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Washington Star, and the Christian Science Monitor. Indeed there was some coverage of the journal's struggle against the FEC. However, the bigger story was the suit that Reader's Digest had filed against the election commission because of a similar FEC investigation. The Pink Sheet was for the most part a tag on to a larger story. Certainly the journal's First Amendment fight was important. A

New York Times editorial defended Reader's Digest and Luce's newsletter: "If the commission can't tell the difference between journalism and campaign activity or between pettifogging and the Constitution, the only remedy may be for Congress to relieve it of the task." In July 1981, the Pink Sheet won its suit against the FEC. The journal called it a "Landmark First Amendment Case." The court dismissed the FEC's action, and prohibited the agency from investigating the matter any further. Luce called it a "great victory. Together we've shown the bureaucrats at the FEC that they can't shut down a conservative, anti-Communist newsletter when we stand up for our First Amendment rights."[40] It was ironic that the Pink Sheet defended its rights under the Constitution, but could not recognize that that protection also applied to the groups that the journal worked so hard to expose.

The Pink Sheet's struggle with the FEC was a distraction, but it did not hamper its promotion of Republican candidates for the 1980 election. The journal, as it did in 1978, devoted a section of every issue to the 1980 campaign, titled "On the Campaign Trail." Each issue had information about Republican and Democratic candidates. The journal intently followed the Reagan campaign. In January of 1980, the newsletter was disturbed with George Bush's victory in the Iowa primary.[41]

In March the Pink Sheet published a twelve-page special issue entitled: "Jimmy Carter's Foreign Policy Disaster for America" -- a collection of previously published articles about Carter's foreign policy. Luce wrote, "We must all work together to defeat JIMMY in November. Our country's survival depends on

it." As part of the journal's election effort it advised its readers on how to write effective "letters to the editor," and to congressional leaders.[42]

As expected, the journal was pleased with many of the political positions that Reagan proposed on the campaign trail. On June 30, 1980, the newsletter endorsed Reagan's intention "to reverse the Red tide in Central and South America." The journal also approved Reagan's position on Taiwan. Reagan wanted to maintain official relations with Taiwan. The national media viewed Reagan's position as a big mistake, but the newsletter called his stance a "profile in courage." The Pink Sheet was critical of the media. It was upset when NBC offered free air time to John Anderson -- who ran for president as an independent. The newsletter was convinced that this was an example "of what we can expect the media to do...to defeat Ronald Reagan."[43]

During the last half of the 1970s the journal continued to snipe at the news media, especially newspapers. (See table 10) The journal covered the media in much the same way that it had during the first half of the decade. When ABC reporter, Geraldo Rivera, was interviewed in Playboy magazine, he stated that he and other reporters while in Panama recognized the fact that their coverage had a direct impact on the congressional debate over the treaty. The Pink Sheet seized on this as "proof" of media bias. Luce urged his readers to write the network, and demand that Rivera be fired. On October 22, 1979, the journal reported that the media watchdog group, Accuracy in Media (AIM), had gotten into the fray when Rivera interviewed Jane Fonda. The

journal and AIM wanted the networks to "at least provide a conservative viewpoint to balance ABC's news coverage."[44]

The journal was distressed about the medias apparent left-wing bias, and the lack of coverage of conservative issues. It was particularly concerned with the liberal "eastern establishment" that dominated the Washington D.C. news media. Luce was also disturbed when the Washington Star was bought by Time Inc. In addition, when actor Will Geer died, the New York Times obituary did not mention that he "had been identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party and had taken the Fifth Amendment when asked to deny it." For the Pink Sheet this omission was another example of how the media had created "a false picture of American History."[45]

Table 10 -- News Media

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1976-80	PERCENTAGE OF ISSUES
TOTAL MENTIONS	160	100%
ABC	11	8%
NBC	10	7%
CBS	9	6%
WASHINGTON POST	55	39%
NEW YORK TIMES	36	25%
WASHINGTON STAR	9	6%
(142, total issues)		

When Ronald Reagan was elected the fortieth President of the United States, the Pink Sheet was ecstatic that the American public had rejected the "Carter-Mondale policies of domestic liberalism and foreign weakness...." The journal was delighted that many "hard-core ultra-liberals in the U.S. Senate went down to humiliating defeat." The Democrats lost the services of McGovern (SD), Birch Bayh (IN), Frank Church (ID), and Warren Magnuson (WA), to name a few. But Luce cautioned his readers that, even with the tremendous victory, the Reagan administration "will not be able to improve things dramatically without strong support from Pink Sheet readers.... The liberals and leftists will continue their troublemaking, so we must counterbalance their efforts." The journal promised to do its part. It would increase its coverage of the "liberal and leftist media so you'll have advance warning on how the liberals will try to thwart the will of the voters." Luce stated, "perhaps now more than ever before" the conservative movement must continue to collect information about the left, so that "America's decline...[can] be reversed."[46]

Several years later John T. Dolan, founder of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, outlined a conspiracy at a meeting on May 21, 1985, for the Secretary of the Interior Donald P. Hodel, and Secretary of Education William J Bennett. Dolan was concerned that, even though Reagan had been returned to the White House: "...at every turn, his -- our -- agenda is stymied by people who simply disregard the will of the American public and continue to proceed with their own liberal programs."

He believed that the federal government was controlled by "career civil servants who are totally out of touch with grassroots America." According to Dolan these people had wasted billions of dollars on federal programs that had "accomplished absolutely nothing." Dolan was concerned that this was a "socialist agenda predicated on their 'right' to spend our money at will...." Another threat to the Reagan administration was the liberal media's "hidden network."[47] This was an example of how both the Pink Sheet and Dolan reflected the paranoid style which historian Richard Hofstadter had identified.

On May 4, 1981, the Pink Sheet celebrated its tenth anniversary. Luce wrote: "While we have not been victorious in every battle, we have made a difference in a number of critical areas. And, as a result...the pendulum has begun to swing back toward a sensible pro-American approach in defense, foreign policy, and internal security matters."[48] The Pink Sheet by 1980 had achieved its highest level of circulation, nearly 14,000 subscribers. (See appendix B) Luce had founded the journal upon classical anti-communist conservative themes which included: a subversive communist threat, the left-wing bias of the media, and liberal entrenchment in the federal government which had weakened the nation.

Even though the journal shifted its focus somewhat during the last half of the decade, some old themes prevailed. The newsletter did not waver in its resolve to scrutinize left-wing individuals. The journal mentioned left-wing people over 370 times. Angela Davis lost her number one status in the Pink

Sheet, although she was mentioned twenty times for a 14 percent rating. Jane Fonda won top honors with a 19 percent mention rating. (See table 11) Communist and socialist organizations also lost ground in the pages of the newsletter in the second half of the decade. Though the journal treated them as it had before, these groups were mentioned around 250 times, down nearly one hundred from the first five years of publication. (See table 12) The newsletter decreased its coverage of black and women's issues. Black topics fell from over 180 mentions to just 40 and a 27 percent rating, while issues that involved women fell from 18 percent to only 4 percent. Coverage of social issues increased only slightly (from a 29 to a 42 percent mention rating) with such topics as Pro-life PACs, gun control, and welfare spending. (See table 13) While the expanded coverage of these issues reflected the concerns of social conservatives of the New Right, the journal kept to its major theme of anti-communism. The Pink Sheet did not waver from its goal of exposing the communist threat at home and abroad. This was its contribution to the conservative movement, and it left the other issues to the many New Right organizations that had developed toward the end of the decade and which were concerned with those topics.

Ironically, with the rise of the New Right, perhaps the Pink Sheet's largest competition came from within its own political circles. The development of the conservative movement in America had given birth to numerous organizations. Many of these groups

Table 11 -- Activists, Civil Rights leaders, and Entertainers

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1976-80	PERCENTAGE OF ISSUES
JANE FONDA	27	19%
CORA WEISS	23	16%
ANGELA DAVIS	20	14%
TOM HAYDEN	19	13%
WILLIAM KUNSTLER	16	11%
ARMAND HAMMER	13	9%
PETE SEEGER	12	8%
JOAN BAEZ	5	4%
TIMOTHY LEARY	5	4%
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	4	3%
PAUL ROBESON	3	2%

(Total number of issues, 142)

Table 12 -- Communist and Socialist Organizations

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1976-80	PERCENTAGE OF ISSUES
COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS, TOTAL	253	100%
COMMUNIST PARTY USA	48	34%
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	28	20%
SANDINISTAS	19	13%
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY	10	7%

(Total number of issues, 142)

Table 13 -- Black, Women, and Social Issues

	NUMBER OF MENTIONS, 1976-80	PERCENTAGE OF ISSUES
SOCIAL ISSUES TOTAL	59	42%
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION	16	11%
BLACK PANTHER PARTY	8	6%
WOMEN'S ISSUES	5	4%
BLACK LIBERATION ARMY	2	1%

(Total number of issues, 142)

focused their attention on social and economic issues as they waged a battle over abortion, school prayer, welfare spending, drugs, sexual permissiveness, and the secular curriculum in the public schools. The New "Christian" Right dominated the conservative agenda; thus, a single issue anti-communist newsletter could not compete as it had during the turbulent days of the early 1970s.

The growth of the New Right can be traced back through the Republican party since 1932. Aspects of the movement were also found in the extremist politics of the Know-Nothings in the mid-nineteenth century. But the coalition of individuals that were a part of the New Right of the 1980s began to coalesce in the late 1960s and 1970s. The conservative intellectual movement during the 1950s and early 60s developed the ideology for the New Right, while the presidential campaigns of Barry Goldwater, George Wallace, and Richard Nixon brought a new segment of the American electorate into politics in much the same way that John F. Kennedy had for liberals and Democrats in the early 1960s. Those three conservative candidates provided a vehicle for many conservatives to become active in politics. Certainly the radicalism of the sixties and the welfare spending of President Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" created grassroots resentment and resistance. Thus the political right blamed Johnson's liberal policies for the violence in the streets, sexual permissiveness, pornography, breakup of the family, and the demise of America's military and economic strength.

In the mid-1960s local movements emerged against racial

busing and sex education in the public schools. In 1973 the Supreme Court legalized abortion, in Roe v Wade. Many groups were organized specifically to oppose the decision. The Right created other organizations which opposed the Equal Rights Amendment and Gay rights. These divergent groups, joined with those who supported traditionally conservative ideas on economics and anti-communism, formed the New Right in the late 1970s.

Jerome Himmelstein, Professor of Sociology at Amherst College, has identified three aspects of New Right ideology: "Economic Libertarianism, Social Traditionalism, and Militant Anti-Communism." Economic Libertarianism combined worries over inflation, unemployment, a stagnant economy, high taxes, and high interest rates with the theory that free market forces would solve these problems, provided that there is no interference from the government via social programs and regulations. The central theme of this aspect of the triad is that people should be accorded the individual freedom to seek their own interests in an economic environment unhampered by external forces, such as government. Social Traditionalism was concerned with the breakup of the family, and the decline of religious participation. For social traditionalists, it was the liberals in government who were responsible for the problems that had undermined the family, religion, and morality. In the eyes of social conservatives, liberals had failed to solve these problems because of their humanistic and secular philosophies. Conservatives wanted to preserve the family and the community with religious restraint. The final portion of the New Right triad was Militant Anti-

Communism. To those of this persuasion, America was in a titanic struggle to the death with the Soviet Union and international communism. For them, "liberal" policies of appeasement and accommodation had hindered the battle. This part of the triad rested upon three basic assumptions: 1) that the East-West conflict was a struggle between the forces of absolute good and absolute evil; 2) that communism could only be established and maintained by force; 3) and that liberal foreign policies had prevented American's defeat of communism. The answer for the New Right was increased military spending, the abandonment of detente and trade with communist countries, and a major effort of "ideological and political mobilization designed to, if not contain, roll back the tide of communism."[49]

The Pink Sheet certainly fit under the Militant Anti-Communist aspect of Himmelstein's conservative triad. The journal had grown, in part, in response to the turbulent Sixties in much the same manner as had New Right organizations that were concerned with social issues. Though Luce was concerned with communism, so were many New Right organizations. Thus his journal informed the New Right of subversive activities at home and abroad.

Conservative organizer Richard Viguerie attributed the rise of the New Right to several factors. He gave the most credit for the resurgence of the conservative movement to William F. Buckley Jr. and Barry Goldwater. Buckley's contributions had been largely intellectual. In 1955 he had founded the National Review, and in 1966 started his television show Firing Line.

Goldwater's presidential campaign in 1964 was a learning experience for many on the Right. Viguerie's direct-mail company was involved in the campaign, and compiled a list of new politically active conservatives. That list help lay the foundation for the New Right in the 1970s.[50]

Two interconnected events alerted the Right to the benefits of a well-organized lobbying force to support its legislative and political agenda. The Watergate crisis disillusioned some on the Right who had believed that their "conservative fortunes were synonymous with Republican fortunes...." The New Right was disappointed that many influential Republicans had often acquiesced in many of Nixon's somewhat liberal policies. When Nixon resigned, the New Right realized the need for a political force that was independent of the Republican party.[51] These events dramatized for the Right the necessity of a political force that could apply pressure on the government to achieve conservative goals. With the problem identified, the New Right set out to develop a coalition of like-minded individuals and organizations that could produce the desired results.

The Watergate scandal had another important impact on the New Right. As a result of that affair Congress passed the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974. The act created the political action committee or PAC, and established a commission that had the responsibility to oversee the financial aspects of federal elections. The new law required the reporting of every contribution over $200 and every expenditure of the same amount. The law put a limit on the amount of money a person could donate

to a candidate. No more than $1,000 could be contributed, and a person could not give more than $5,000 to a PAC in one year. PACs were limited to donating no more than $5,000 to one candidate but could spend an unlimited amount on a candidate if that money was spent independently from the candidate's official campaign. No contact could occur between the PAC and the candidate's own election committee. PACs were tailor-made for Viguerie's direct-mail business. His company could solicit funds from thousands of individuals, and raise millions of dollars for a candidate. This form of campaigning was an effective way to bypass the "liberal" national media to inform the public about various issues and candidates. PACs were quite successful. In 1976, PACs spent only $250,000 on candidates, but in 1980 they spent $13.7 million.[52]

In the early 1970s Joseph Coors, millionaire beer maker, financed Paul Weyrich's -- one of the founders of the YAF -- New Right think tank, the Heritage Foundation. It published the journal Policy Review and provided a forum for the study of conservative issues. Coors and Weyrich also collaborated on the creation in 1974 of the the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC). CSFC not only raised funds for New Right candidates, but developed an organizational structure at the precinct level. It also conducted seminars, which trained people on how to run effective campaigns.[53]

In 1975, Howard Phillips, a YAF member and Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under Nixon, organized the Conservative Caucus. His organization, with a membership of over

300,000 in 250 of the 435 congressional districts, worked with conservative single-issue groups to elect New Right candidates. The Caucus also led the fight against SALT II and the Panama Canal treaty.[54] Another person who was at the forefront of the development of the New Right was John T. Dolan, a former attorney for the YAF. He started the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) in 1975. NCPAC was the largest conservative PAC. It spent millions to support New Right candidates and targeted Democratic senators and representatives for defeat. NCPAC was successful at helping defeat such Senators in 1978 and 1980 as: Frank Church of Idaho, Dick Clark and John Culver of Iowa, Birch Bayh of Indiana, Floyd Haskell of Colorado, and Thomas Eagleton of Missouri. Dolan also directed the Kennedy Truth Squad which was a conservative effort to "get Kennedy."[55]

Dolan, Phillips, and Weyrich, along with Viguerie were the nucleus that laid the foundation for the New Right. The four of them brought many diverse organizations together to fight for conservative issues, and for candidates at the national and local levels. By 1979 the New Right claimed 168 members in the House and 24 Senators who regularly voted along favorable political lines.[56]

These four men -- products of the intellectual and political growth of right-wing politics during the 1960s -- combined their particular talents and interests with the social conservatives. These social conservatives represented only a few of the many single-issue groups that had developed in reaction to the social chaos of the late 1960s and 1970s. Viguerie, Weyrich, Phillips,

and Dolan provided the vehicle for these new voices to enter the political arena.

Alan Crawford, who wrote Thunder on the Right, viewed the New Right conservatives as something vastly different from mainstream Republicans. Crawford had a unique perspective. He was a former editor of the New Guard, which was the publication of the YAF, and was an assistant editor of Viguerie's Conservative Digest. For Crawford, the New Right rejected the old guard Republicans who seemed content to work within the political system with the Democrats. The New Right viewed them as part of the political problem that it was attempting to correct. The New Right believed that the old guard was too willing to compromise and not capable of standing up to the "liberal" government in Washington. Crawford stated that "for most Americans, conservatism has...been understood as a political and economic philosophy rooted in big business against big government and big labor, for the rich, against the poor." That was a description of Crawford's old guard Republicans. For him the New Right was "anti-intellectual, insensitive to questions of civil liberties, hostile to reforms, and more concerned with using the political processes for social protest than with improving the quality of life in America by informed public policy...." The New Right was anti-political by nature because it was hostile toward government. Historian Richard Hofstadter, author of The Paranoid Style in American Politics, would agree with Crawford. Hofstadter viewed the conservative right as a group that was certainly anti-political because they accused

their opponents of treason and conspiracy "against the public good."[57]

What, then, was the New Right? Crawford described it as a "glorification of the values and images of the old west...." It embodied the spirit of rugged individualism, which sought to "retreat from history." It also had a "deep-seated distaste for our European past." This revulsion had been transformed into a distrust for the Eastern establishment, in particular New York City "through which Europe's refugees entered their own promised land." Crawford also labeled New Right politics as "macho politics." He made the distinction between New Right ideologues and opportunists. The ideologues refused to cooperate with liberals or anyone who played the political game of compromise. They considered those who participated in the game of politics as destined to be compromised by the system and therefore were of little use to the New Right. Politics of the New Right consisted of "discontent, anger, insecurity, and resentment which flourishes on backlash politics."[58]

Though the term New Right had not been coined when historian Clinton Rossiter wrote his book, Conservatism in America, he labeled that same group "ultra-conservatives." For Rossiter, ultra-conservatives opposed U.S. involvement with the United Nations, were bitterly anti-communist, rejected the welfare state, and wanted to reduce the government's role in business, medicine, social security, and education. They would also ignore, if not deny, civil rights problems. Like Crawford and Hofstadter, Rossiter identified the basic problem of the New

Right's viewpoint. The ultra-conservatives (and, later, the New Right) found it difficult to work within the system. They, according to Rossiter, were unable to, "accept gracefully social and economic changes that have established a successful way of life." The New Right thought that the old guard Republicans had compromised sacred principles.[59]

In the 1970s the New Right was joined by a new religious force in American politics. The New "Christian" Right championed the return to a day when family values, morality, religion, and the supremacy of the American way of life was guaranteed. Its followers wanted America to "stand tall" once again in the world, as it had after World War Two. After the disruptive 1960s and early 1970s, this segment of America searched for those who seemed responsible for the decline of the American dream. They found their enemy in the "liberal" government that had squandered America's economic strength. The enemy was also the "liberal" media as well as Hollywood, which had promoted a life style that corrupted America's youth. The enemy was also the humanist ideology that supported secular education in the schools. The New Christian Right viewed the foe as those who did not share its belief in God and Jesus. Therefore, the "Godless Communists" were a natural target of the New "Christian" Right. For the Christian Right, communism was the external threat, and humanists and liberals were the internal enemies that had weakened America in the titanic battle with communism. The New Christian Right felt that it had been betrayed by moderates and liberals throughout society who had destroyed "their" America.[60]

Thus in the 1970s social conservatives, joined the economic and anti-communist forces to create a new political movement, the "New Right." The Pink Sheet was thus but one part of a larger movement during the 1970s and early 1980s that forged a strong voice within the wide spectrum of American politics.

The Pink Sheet had been a part of that three way fusion of social, economic, and anti-communist conservatives forces. Although the newsletter shifted its focus toward defense and foreign policy related issues, it sustained its readership through the 1980 election year. But immediately afterward the Pink Sheet's circulation plummeted. By 1983 the journal had lost half its subscribers. Perhaps after the massive effort to place a Republican in the White House, and to control the Senate, the movement had lost momentum. By 1989 the circulation bottomed out at just over 2,000 subscribers, 3,800 less than it had started with in 1971.

The reasons for the journal's decline were several. On January 11, 1982, the Pink Sheet changed its name to The American Sentinel, with the subtitle: "Your Inside Report on National Defense, Foreign Affairs, and Internal Security." With this change the newsletter formally changed its mission. Its focus on specific defense related issues and foreign affairs policies was quite different than the journal's obsession with the internal communist threat. The newsletter's lack of coverage of social conservative issues set the newsletter apart from the New Right in the 1980s. The Pink Sheet's narrow focus may have contributed to its decrease in circulation in the 1980s.

But the most dramatic change that affected the journal's circulation was the departure of founder and editor Phillip Luce on May 3, 1982. Thus the person who had given the newsletter its personality was gone. He may have taken with him some of the loyal readers who, for over a decade, had subscribed to the Pink Sheet on the Left: America's Authoritative Report on Left-Wing Activities.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

[1]Phillip A. Luce, ed., The Pink Sheet on the Left: America's Authoritative Report on Left-Wing Activities (Washington D.C.: Phillips Publishing Inc.), 6/6/77, 158:1-2; 11/20/78, 196:6; 4/23/79, 206:6; 5/21/79, 208:1-2.

[2]Ibid., 4/12/76, 128:1, 6/2/76, 133:1.

[3]Ibid., 3/1/76, 125:4; 8/30/76, 138:1-2.

[4]Ibid., 7/14/76, 135:1.

[5]Ibid., 10/11/76, 141:1.

[6]Ibid., 1/3/77, 147:1-2; 1/17/77, 148:1-2; 1/31/77, 149:1; 2/14/77, 150:1; 2/28/77. 151:1-2.

[7]Ibid., 4/11/77, 154:1.

[8]Ibid.; For two good treatments of the Miranda case see: Neal A. Milner, The Court and Local Law Enforcement; the Impact of Miranda (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1971), and Liva Baker, Miranda: Crime, Law, and Politics (New York: Atheneum, 1983).

[9]Pink Sheet, 8/29/77, 164:2.

[10]Ibid., 10/22/79, 219:2-3.

[11]Ibid., 3/26/79, 204:3.

[12]Ibid., 1/29/79, 200:3.

[13]Ibid., 9/12/77, 165:1-2; 1/2/78, 173:1; William A. Rusher, The Rise of the Right (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1984), 299-300; Richard A. Viguerie, The New Right: We're ready to Lead (Falls Church, Virginia: The Viguerie Company, 1981), 65-70; For a book on the Panama Canal issue see: Walter LeFeber, The Panama Canal: The Crisis in Historical Perspective (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[14]Pink Sheet, 1/31/77, 149:1; 9/29/77, 164:1-2.

[15]Ibid., 3/27/78, 178:1-2; 4/24/78, 181:1.

[16]Ibid., 10/23/78, 194:1; 1/1/79, 198:2; 11/5/79, 220:2; For a book that deals with arms control between the Soviet Union and the United States see: R.L. Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1985).

[17]Ibid., 2/14/77, 150:5; 3/27/78, 179:4; 5/8/78, 182:2; 9/14/78, 189:1; 5/7/79, 207:8.

[18]Ibid., 1/14/80, 224:5; 2/25/80, 227:1; 6/14/80, 237:5; 7/28/80, 238:4.

[19]Ibid., 3/1/76, 125:1-2.

[20]Ibid., 12/5/77, 171:1; Garry Wills, Reagan's America: Innocents at Home (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1987), 279-288.

[21]Pink Sheet, 2/13/78, 176:3.

[22]Ibid., 11/20/78, 196:7; 1/29/79, 200:1-2.

[23]Ibid., 9/10/79, 216:2; 11/19/79, 221:2; 6/2/80, 234:6.

[24]Ibid., 12/5/77, 171:2; 1/15/79, 199:2.

[25]Ibid., 11/19/79, 221:1; 1/14/80, 224:2; for a book on U.S.-Iranian relations see: G. Sick, All Fall Down: Americas Tragic Encounter with Iran (New York: Random House, 1985).

[26]Pink Sheet, 1/28/80, 225:7; 6/2/80, 234:2-3.

[27]Ibid., 10/10/77, 167:4; 11/21/77, 170:1.

[28]Ibid., 4/10/78, 180:3; 5/22/78, 183:1.

[29]Ibid., 8/28/78, 190:1.

[30]Ibid., 2/77/78, 177:5; 4/10/78, 180:5-6.

[31]Ibid., 5/22/78, 183:2; 7/31/78, 188:7-8; 8/14/78, 189:1.

[32]Ibid., 7/3/78, 186:4-6; 7/31/78, 188:4-5; The list of New Right groups is quite long. This list is by no means inclusive: Accuracy in Media, Allied Educational Foundation, American Association of Christian School, American Legislative Exchange Council, American Life Lobby, American Christian Cause, American Security Council, Americans for Life, Americans United for Life, American Conservative Union, America Under God, Black Silent Majority, Christian Voice, Citizen's Committee for the Right to Keep and Bears Arms, Coalition for Better Television, Concerned Women for America, Council for a Competitive Economy, Christian Women's National Concerns, Council for National Policy, Christian

Family Renewal, Conservatives Against Liberal Legislation, Christian Coalition for Legislative Action, Citizens for Constructive Education, Committee for Responsible Youth Politics, Coalitions for America, Center on National Labor Policy, Citizens for Educational Freedom, Citizens for the Republic, Coalition for Freedom, Coalition for Peace Through Strength, Council on Inter-American Security, Conservative Victory Foundation, Consumer Alert Foundation, Eagle Forum, Education Research Institute, Family, Life, Family Life Seminars, Family Protection Lobby, Family America, Gun Owners of America, Heritage Foundation, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, Intercessors for America, Leadership Action, Life Advocates, Leadership Institute, Moral Majority, March for Life, National Association of Pro-America, National Christian Action coalition, National Defeat Legal Services Committee, National Federation for Decency, National Journalism Center, National Pro-family Coalition, National Rifle Association, National Right to Life Committee, National Right to Work Committee, National Tax Limitation Committee, National Taxpayers Union, Pacific Legal Foundation, Project Prayer, Public Service Research Council, Pro-family Forum, Pro-family United, Religious Roundtable, Stop ERA, Second Amendment Foundation, U.S. Coalition for Life, United Council on Welfare Fraud, Untied Families of America, Washington Legal Foundation, Young Americans for Freedom. List from, Jerome L. Himmelstein, "The New Right," in The New Christian Right: Mobilization and Legitimation, ed. Robert C. Liebman and Robert Wuthnow (New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1983), 14.

[33] Pink Sheet, 11/20/78, 196:1-2.

[34] Ibid., 1/1/79, 179:1-2.

[35] Ibid., 3/12/79, 203:1, 11/19/79, 221:4; 3/10/80, 228:1.

[36] Ibid., 8/13/79, 214:1,12. (Bio on T. Kennedy)

[37] Ibid., 4/7/80, 230:1.

[38] Ibid., 7/28/80, 238:1.

[39] Ibid., 12/29/80, 248: Special Supplement.

[40] Ibid., 3/9/81, 253:4; 7/27/81, 261:1; Julia Malone, "Election watchdog biting into US press freedom?" Christian Science Moniter, 17, February 1981, 8; Edward T. Pound, "2 Publishers Accuse U.S. Election Agency of Rights Violations," New York Times, 16, February 1981, 1:4; "Nearsighted Protectors of Election Law," New York Times, 24 February 1981, 18:1.

[41] Pink Sheet, 1/28/80, 225:1.

[42] Ibid., 3/24/80, 229:12; 4/21/80, 231:4; 5/22/78, 183:3-4.

[43] Ibid., 6/30/80, 236:1; 7/14/80, 237:1; 9/8/80, 214:6.

[44]Ibid., 10/9/78, 193:3; 3/12/79, 203:3; 10/22/79, 219:6.

[45]Ibid., 3/27/78, 179:3; 6/5/78, 184:1-2.

[46]Ibid., 11/17/80, 246:1.

[47]Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The paranoid style in American politics revisited," The Public Interest, 81 (1985): 116-118.

[48]Pink Sheet, 5/4/81, 257:1.

[49]Jerome L. Himmelstein, "The New Right," in The New Christian Right: Mobilization and Legitimation, ed. Robert C. Liebman and Robert Wuthnow (New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1983), 15-17; Allen Hunter, "In the Wings: New Right Organizations and Ideology," Radical America, (1981): 116-117.

[50]Viguerie, We're Ready to Lead, 41-43.

[51]Ibid., 50-51, 58-59.

[52]Alan Crawford, Thunder on the Right: The "New Right" and the Politics of Resentment (New York: Panthean Books, 1980), 43-46; Viguerie, We're Ready to Lead, 81; Stephen J. Wayne, The Road to the White House: The Politics of Presidential Elections, sec. ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 39, 43, data from Federal Election Commission, "Presidential Pre-Nomination Campaigns," Final Report (October 1981), 1.

[53]Crawford, Thunder on the Right, 10-11; Milton Ellerin and Alisa H. Keston, "The New Right: What is it?," Social Policy, (1981) 11(5): 57; Hunter, "In the Wings," 118; Rusher, Rise of the Right, 258; Viguerie, We're Ready to Lead, 53-54.

[54]Ellerin and Keston, The New Right, 118; Hunter, In the Wings, 58; Viguerie, We're Ready to Lead, 58.

[55]Ellerin and Keston, The New Right, 118; Hunter, In the Wings, 58-60; Viguerie, We're Ready to Lead, 56-57.

[56]Ellerin and Keston, The New Right, 59.

[57]Crawford, Thunder on the Right, 7, 211, 213; Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics, and other essays (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 98, 100.

[58]Crawford, Thunder on the Right, 5, 82, 87, 107, 112-113.

[59]Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America: The Thankless Persuasion, sec. ed., (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 175-177; Hofstadter, Paranoid Style, 100.

[60]David H. Bennett, The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 344-345, 354-355, 387-389, 380; Jerome Himmelstein, "The New Right," in The New Christian Right, 24.

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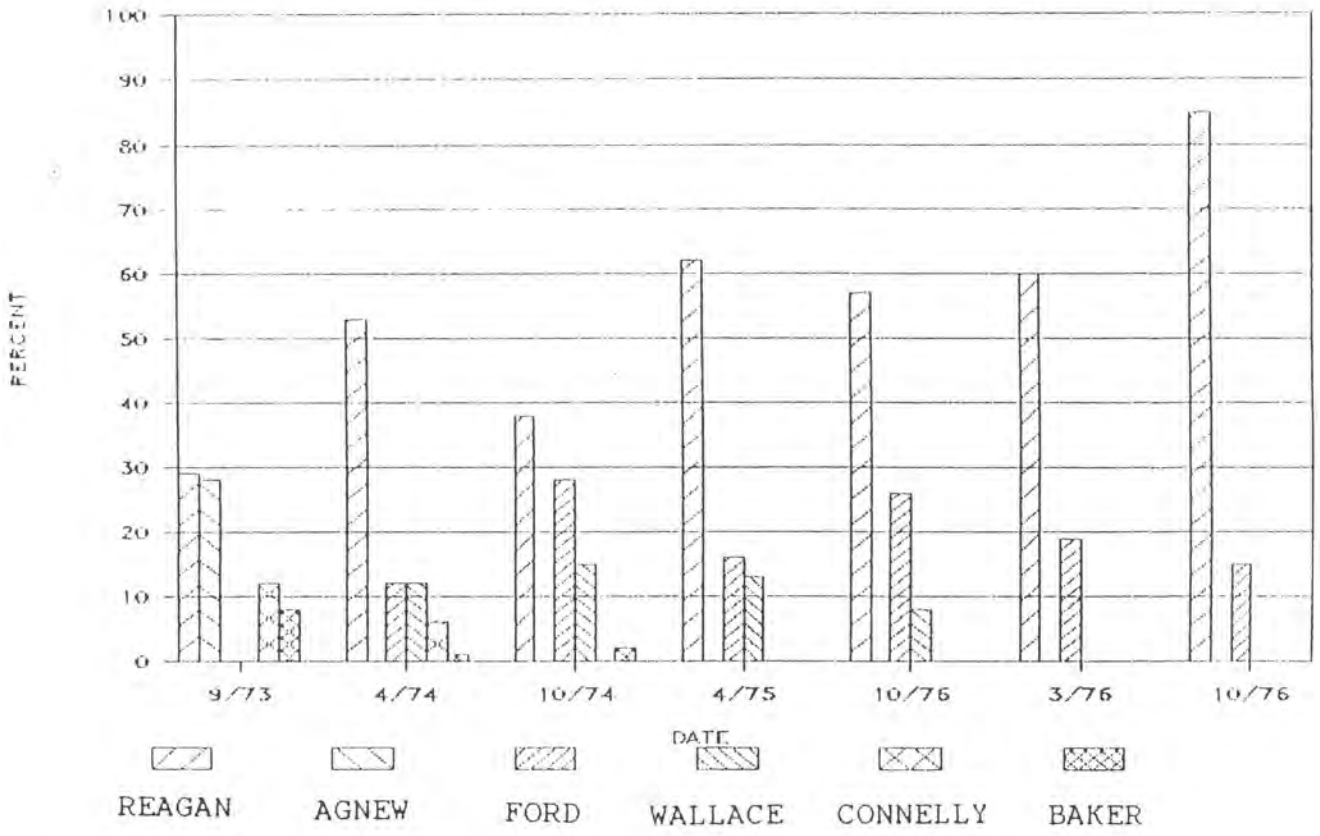
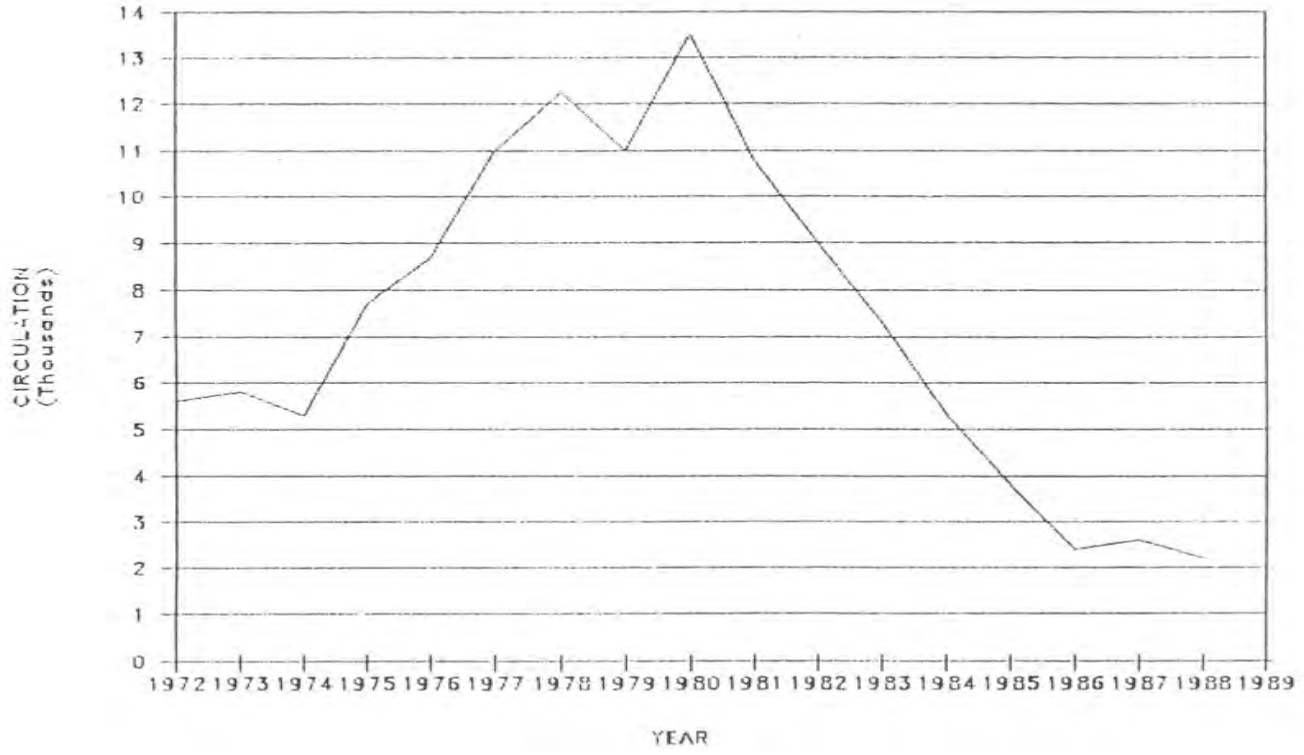
APPENDIX A

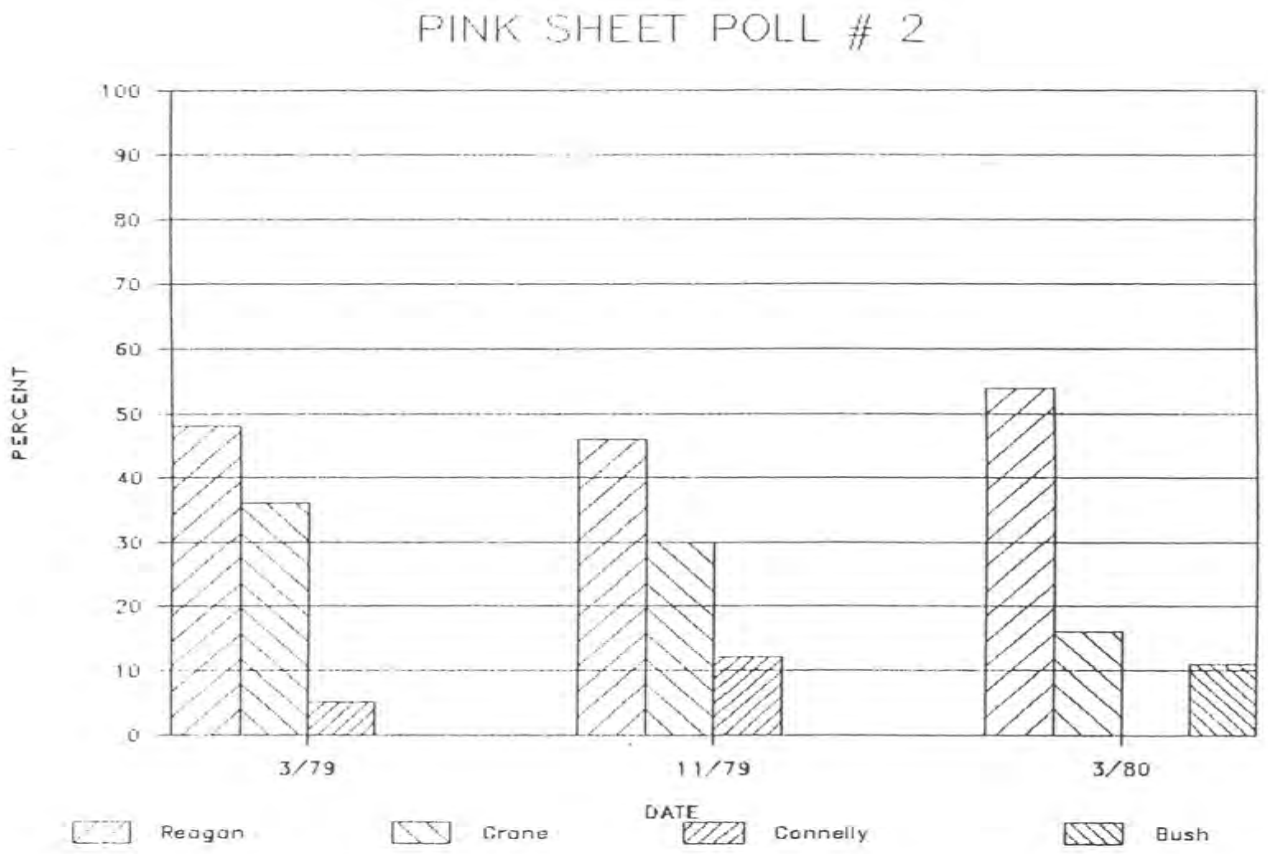
PINK SHEET POLL # 1



PINK SHEET CIRCULATION 1972 – 1988



APPENDIX C


PINK SHEET POLL # 2
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
PERCENT
3/79
11/79
3/80
DATE
Reagan
Crane
Connelly
Bush